

W^m Henry THE *Finlay*

ESSAYS

OF

Michael, Seigneur de Montaigne,

Translated into ENGLISH.

The EIGHTH EDITION.

With very considerable

AMENDMENTS and IMPROVEMENTS,

From the most accurate and elegant *French* Edition of

PETER COSTE.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

DUBLIN:

Printed for JAMES POTTS, at *Swift's Head*, in *Dame-street*.

M.DCC.LX.

Handwritten: ~~THE~~

ESSAYS

by Sir Isaac Newton

Translated into French

THE SECOND EDITION

With very copious

AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS



From the original in the French Library

PAPER COSTS

MAJOR VOLUMES

VOL. IV

D. V. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Printed by W. Stansfeld, at the Press of the British Museum

M.C.C.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME THIRD.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XIII.	<i>OF judging of the Death of another</i>	1
CHAP. XIV.	<i>How the Mind hampers itself</i>	9
CHAP. XV.	<i>That our Desires are augmented by the Difficulty of obtaining them</i>	10
CHAP. XVI.	<i>Of Glory</i>	17
CHAP. XVII.	<i>Of Presumption</i>	33
CHAP. XVIII.	<i>Of giving the Lye</i>	70
CHAP. XIX.	<i>Of Liberty of Conscience</i>	75
CHAP. XX.	<i>That we Taste nothing Pure</i>	80
CHAP. XXI.	<i>Against Sloth</i>	83
CHAP. XXII.	<i>Of Posts</i>	88
CHAP. XXIII.	<i>Of ill Means employed to a good End</i>	90
CHAP. XXIV.	<i>Of the Roman Grandeur</i>	94
CHAP. XXV.	<i>Not to counterfeit Sickness</i>	96
CHAP. XXVI.	<i>Of Thumbs</i>	98
CHAP. XXVII.	<i>Cowardise the Mother of Cruelty</i>	100
CHAP. XXVIII.	<i>All things have their Season</i>	110
CHAP. XXIX.	<i>Of Virtue</i>	113
CHAP. XXX.	<i>Of a monstrous Child</i>	121
CHAP. XXXI.	<i>Of Anger</i>	123
CHAP.		

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXXII.	<i>Defence of Seneca and Plutarch</i>	131
CHAP. XXXIII.	<i>The Story of Spurina</i>	139
CHAP. XXXIV.	<i>Observations on Julius Cæsar's Methods of making War</i>	147
CHAP. XXXV.	<i>Of Three good Women</i>	157
CHAP. XXXVI.	<i>Of Three most excellent Men</i>	166
CHAP. XXXVII.	<i>Of the Resemblance of Children to their Fathers</i>	174

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.	<i>OF Profit and Honesty</i>	208
CHAP. II.	<i>Of Repentance</i>	226
CHAP. III.	<i>Of three Commerces, i. e. Familiarities with Men, Women, and Books</i>	242
CHAP. IV.	<i>Of Diversion</i>	256
CHAP. V.	<i>On some Verses of Virgil</i>	268

BOOK II.

1	CHAP. XVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	131
2	CHAP. XVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	139
3	CHAP. XVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	147
4	CHAP. XIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	157
5	CHAP. XX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	166
6	CHAP. XXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	174
7	CHAP. XXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	183
8	CHAP. XXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	192
9	CHAP. XXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	201
10	CHAP. XXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	210
11	CHAP. XXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	219
12	CHAP. XXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	228
13	CHAP. XXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	237
14	CHAP. XXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	246
15	CHAP. XXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	255
16	CHAP. XXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	264
17	CHAP. XXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	273
18	CHAP. XXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	282
19	CHAP. XXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	291
20	CHAP. XXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	300
21	CHAP. XXXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	309
22	CHAP. XXXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	318
23	CHAP. XXXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	327
24	CHAP. XXXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	336
25	CHAP. XL.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	345
26	CHAP. XLI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	354
27	CHAP. XLII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	363
28	CHAP. XLIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	372
29	CHAP. XLIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	381
30	CHAP. XLV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	390
31	CHAP. XLVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	399
32	CHAP. XLVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	408
33	CHAP. XLVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	417
34	CHAP. XLIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	426
35	CHAP. L.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	435
36	CHAP. LI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	444
37	CHAP. LII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	453
38	CHAP. LIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	462
39	CHAP. LIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	471
40	CHAP. LV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	480
41	CHAP. LVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	489
42	CHAP. LVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	498
43	CHAP. LVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	507
44	CHAP. LIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	516
45	CHAP. LX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	525
46	CHAP. LXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	534
47	CHAP. LXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	543
48	CHAP. LXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	552
49	CHAP. LXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	561
50	CHAP. LXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	570
51	CHAP. LXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	579
52	CHAP. LXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	588
53	CHAP. LXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	597
54	CHAP. LXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	606
55	CHAP. LXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	615
56	CHAP. LXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	624
57	CHAP. LXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	633
58	CHAP. LXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	642
59	CHAP. LXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	651
60	CHAP. LXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	660
61	CHAP. LXXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	669
62	CHAP. LXXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	678
63	CHAP. LXXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	687
64	CHAP. LXXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	696
65	CHAP. LXXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	705
66	CHAP. LXXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	714
67	CHAP. LXXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	723
68	CHAP. LXXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	732
69	CHAP. LXXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	741
70	CHAP. LXXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	750
71	CHAP. LXXXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	759
72	CHAP. LXXXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	768
73	CHAP. LXXXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	777
74	CHAP. LXXXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	786
75	CHAP. LXXXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	795
76	CHAP. LXXXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	804
77	CHAP. LXXXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	813
78	CHAP. LXXXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	822
79	CHAP. LXXXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	831
80	CHAP. LXXXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	840
81	CHAP. LXXXXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	849
82	CHAP. LXXXXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	858
83	CHAP. LXXXXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	867
84	CHAP. LXXXXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	876
85	CHAP. LXXXXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	885
86	CHAP. LXXXXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	894
87	CHAP. LXXXXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	903
88	CHAP. LXXXXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	912
89	CHAP. LXXXXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	921
90	CHAP. LXXXXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	930
91	CHAP. LXXXXXVI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	939
92	CHAP. LXXXXXVII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	948
93	CHAP. LXXXXXVIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	957
94	CHAP. LXXXXXIX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	966
95	CHAP. LXXXXXX.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	975
96	CHAP. LXXXXXXI.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	984
97	CHAP. LXXXXXXII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	993
98	CHAP. LXXXXXXIII.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	1002
99	CHAP. LXXXXXXIV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	1011
100	CHAP. LXXXXXXV.	<i>Of the Duty of a Christian</i>	1020

ESSAYS

ESSAYS

O F

MICHAEL Seigneur de *Montaigne*.

Continuation of BOOK II.

CHAP. XIII. *Of judging of the Death of another.*

WHEN we judge of another's courage in Death, which, without doubt, is the most remarkable action of human life, we are to take notice of one thing, which is, that men very hardly believe themselves to be arrived to that period. Few men die with an assurance that it is their last hour, and there is nothing wherein the flattery of hope does more delude us. It never ceases to whisper in our ears, 'Others have been much sicker without dying; my condition is not so desperate as 'tis thought, and, at the worst, God has wrought other miracles.' This happens, by reason that we set too much value upon ourselves. It seems, to us, as if the universality of things were, in some measure, to suffer by our annihilation, and that it did commiserate our condition. Forasmuch as our depraved sight represents things to itself after the same manner, and that we are of opinion, they stand in as much need of us, as we do of them; like people at sea, to whom mountains, fields, cities, heaven and earth are tossed at the same rate as they are:

VOL. III.

B

Provehimur

Provebimur portu, terræque urbisque recedunt *.

i. e.

Out of the port, with a brisk gale we speed,
Advancing, while the shores and towns recede.
Who ever saw an old man, that did not applaud the past,
and condemn the present time, laying the fault of his
misery and discontent upon the world, and the manners
of men?

*Jamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,
Et cum tempora, temporibus præsentia consert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis,
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum †.*

i. e.

Now the old ploughman sighs, and shakes his head,
And, present times comparing with those fled,
His predecessors happiness does praise,
And the great piety of that old race.

We draw all things along with us; whence it follows,
that we consider our death as a very great thing, and
that does not so easily pass, nor without the solemn
consultation of the stars: 'Tot circa unum caput tu-
' multuantes deos;' as if there was a rout among so
many of the Gods about the life of one man, and
the more we value ourselves, the more we think so.
'What! shall so much knowledge be lost, with so
' much damage to the world, without a particu-
' larn of the destinies? does so rare and exemplary a
' soul cost no more the killing, than one that is vulgar,
' and of no use to the public? This life that protects so
' many others, upon which so many other lives depend,
' that employs so vast a number of men in his service,
' and that fills so many places; shall it drop off like one
' that hangs but by its own single thread? None of us
lays it enough to heart, that we are but one. Thence
proceeded these words of Cæsar to his pilot, more tumid
than the sea that threatened him.

*Italiam si cælo auctore recusas,
Me pete. Sola tibi causa hæc est justia timoris,
Vestorem non posse tuum, per rumpe procellas
Tutelâ secure mei* — †.

i. e.

* *Æneid*. lib. iii. v. 72.

† *Lucret*. lib. ii. v. 1164.

‡ *Lucan*. lib. v. v. 579.

i. e.

If thou to sail to Italy decline
Under the Gods protection, trust to mine ;
The only just cause that thou hast to fear,
Is that thou dost not know thy passenger ;
But I being now aboard, tho' Neptune raves,
Fear not to cut thro' the tempestuous waves.

And these,

—— credit jam digna pericula Cæsar
Fatis esse suis : Tantusque evertere (dixit)
Me super labor est, parvâ quem puppe sedentem,
Tam magno petiere mari——*.

i. e.

These dangers, worthy of his destiny,
Cæsar did now believe, and then did cry,
What, is it for the gods a task so great
To overthrow me, that, to do the feat,
In a poor little bark they must be fain
Here to surprise me on the swelling main ?
And that idle fancy of the public, that the sun mourned
for his death a whole year ;

*Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
Cum caput obscurâ nitidum ferrugine texit †.*

i. e.

The sun, when Cæsar fell, was touch'd for Rome,
With tender pity, and bewail'd its doom.
and a thousand of the like kind, wherewith the world suf-
fers itself to be so easily imposed upon, believing, that our
interests alter the heavens, and that they are concerned at
our minute actions. † ' Non tanta cælo societas nobiscum
' est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit illi quoque siderum fulgor.'
There is no such partnership betwixt us and heaven,
that the brightness of the stars should decay by our death.

Now, to judge of the constancy and resolution of a
man, that does not yet believe himself to be certainly in
danger, tho' he really is, is no reason ; and 'tis not e-
nough, that he dies in this proceeding, unless he did pur-
posely put himself upon it for this end. It commonly
falls out, in most men, that they set a good face upon the
matter, and speak big, to acquire a reputation, which

B 2

they

* Lucan. lib. v. v. 653, &c. † Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 460, &c.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 8.

they hope also, whilst living, to enjoy. Of all that I have seen die, fortune has disposed their countenances, and not their design; and even of those who, in ancient times, have dispatched themselves, 'tis much to be noticed, whether it were a sudden, or a lingering death. That cruel Roman emperor, would say of his prisoners, 'That he would make them feel death;' and if any one killed himself in prison, 'That fellow, said he, has escaped from me.' He was prolonging death, and making it felt by torments.

*Vidimus et toto quamvis in corpore cæso,
Nil animæ lethale datum moremque nefandæ.
Durum sævitix, pereuntis parcere morti*.*

i. e.

And in tormented bodies we have seen,
Amongst those wounds none that have mortal been;
Inhuman method of dire cruelty,
That means to kill, yet will not let men die!

In plain truth, it is no such great matter, for a man in health, and in a settled frame of mind, to resolve to kill himself; it is very easy to boast before one comes to the push: insomuch that Heliogabalus, the most effeminate man in the world, amongst his most sensual pleasures, contrived to make himself die delicately, when he should be forced to it. And, 'that his death † might not give the lye to the rest of his life, had purposely built a sumptuous tower, the front and base whereof was covered and laid with planks enriched with gold and precious stones, thence to precipitate himself; and also caused cords, twisted with gold and crimson silk, to be made, wherewith to strangle himself; and a sword, with the blade of gold, to be hammered out to fall upon; and kept poison in vessels of emerald and topaz, wherewith to poison himself, according as he should like to chuse either of these ways of dying.'

Impiger, et fortis virtute coacta †.

i. e.

By a forc'd valour resolute and brave.
Yet, as for this person, the effeminacy of his preparations makes

* Lucan. lib. ii. v. 178, &c.

† Æl. Lamprid. p. 112, 113. Hist. August.

‡ Lucan. lib. iv. v. 798. edit. Grov. in octavo.

makes it more likely, that his heart would have failed him, had he been put to the test. But in those who, with great resolution, have determined to dispatch themselves, we must examine, whether it were with one blow which took away the leisure of feeling the effect: For it is to be questioned, whether perceiving life, by little and little, to steal away, the sentiment of the body mixing itself with that of the soul, and the means of repenting being offered, whether, I say, constancy and obstinacy, in so dangerous a will, is to be found.

In the civil wars of Cæsar †, Lucius Domitius, being taken in Abruzzo, and thereupon poisoning himself, afterwards repented of it. It has happened, in our time, that a certain person being resolved to dispatch himself, and not having gone deep enough at the first thrust, the sensibility of the flesh repulsing his arm, he gave himself three or four wounds more, but could never prevail upon himself to thrust home. Whilst ‡ Plantius Sylvanus was upon his tryal, Virgulantia, his grandmother, sent him a poniard, with which, not being able to kill himself, he made his servants to cut his veins. ¶ Albu-cilla, in Tiberius's time, having, to kill himself, struck with too much tenderness, gave his adversaries opportunity to imprison, and put him to death their own way. And that great leader Demosthenes, after his rout in Sicily, did the same; and C. Pembria §, having struck himself too weakly, intreated his servant to kill him outright. On the contrary, ¶ Ostorius, who could not make use of his own arm, disdained to employ that of his servant to any other use, but only to hold the poniard straight and firm, whilst he run his neck full drive against it; so that it pierced thro' his throat. 'Tis, in truth, a morsel that is to be swallowed without chewing, and requires the palate of an ostrich; and yet Adrian, the emperor, made his physician mark and incircle, in his pap, the very place wherein the man he had ordered to kill him, was to give the stab. For this reason it was,

B 3

that

† Plutarch in the life of Julius Cæsar, c. 10.

‡ Tacit. annal. lib. iv.

¶ Idem, ibid. lib. vi.

§ Plutarch in the life of Nicias, c. 10.

¶ Tacit. annal. lib. xvi.

that Cæsar being asked, 'What death he thought to be the most desired?' Made answer, 'The least premeditated, and the shortest *.' If Cæsar dared to say it, it is no cowardice in me to believe it. † A short death, says Pliny, is the sovereign happiness of human life. They do not not much care to own it: No one can say, that he is resolved for death, who boggles at it, and cannot undergo it with his eyes open. They that we see, in exemplary punishments, run to their death, hasten and press their execution, do it not out of resolution, but they will not give themselves leisure to consider it; it does not trouble them to be dead, but to die.

‡ *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nibili æstimo* ||.

i. e.

To be dead is nothing to me; but I fear to die.

*Tis a degree of constancy, to which I know, by experience, that I could arrive, like those who plunge themselves into dangers, as into the sea, with their eyes shut.

There is nothing, in my opinion, more illustrious, in the life of Socrates, than that he had thirty whole days wherein to ruminate upon the sentence of his death; to have digested it, all that time, with a most assured hope, without emotion, and without alteration, and with words and actions rather careless and indifferent, than any way stirred or discomposed by the weight of such a thought. That Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero writes so oft, being sick, caused Agrippa, his son-in-law, and two or three more of his friends, to be called to him, and told them, '§ That having found all means practised upon him, for his recovery, to be in vain, and that all he did to prolong his life, did also prolong and augment his pain; he was resolved to put an end both to one and the other, desiring them to approve of his deliberation, or, at least, not to lose their labour in endeavouring to dissuade him.' Now, having chosen to destroy himself by abstinence, his disease was accidentally so cured, and the remedy he made use of to kill him-

self,

* Suet. in J. Cæsare, sect. 87.

† Nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 53.

‡ Epicharmus, the Greek philosopher, was the author of the verse, here translated, by Cicero, into Latin prose,

|| Cic. Tusc. lib. i. c. 8.

§ Corn. Nepos, in the life of Atticus,

self, restored him to health. His physicians and friends rejoicing at so happy an event, and, coming to congratulate him, were, nevertheless, very much deceived, it being impossible for them to make him alter his purpose; he telling them, 'That, be it as it would, he must, one day, die, and that, being now so far on his way, he would save himself the labour of beginning again another time.' This man, having surveyed death at leisure, was not only not discouraged at meeting it, but fully bent on it: For being satisfied, that he had engaged in the combat, he thought he was obliged, in honour, to see the end on't. 'Tis far beyond not fearing death, to desire to taste and relish it.

The story of the philosopher Cleanthes is very like this. * He having his gums swelled and rotten, his physicians advised him to great abstinence: Having fasted two days, he was so much recovered, that they pronounced him cured, and permitted him to return to his ordinary course of diet: He, on the contrary, already tasting some sweetness in this faintness of his, would not be persuaded to go back, but resolved to proceed, and to finish the course he had so far advanced in.

Tullius Marcellinus †, a young man of Rome, having a mind to anticipate the hour of his destiny, in order to be rid of a disease that was more trouble to him, than he was willing to endure; tho' his physicians assured him of a certain, tho' not sudden cure, called a council of his friends, to consult about it: 'Some, says Seneca, gave him the council, which, from pusillanimity, they would have taken themselves; others, out of flattery, prescribed what they thought he would best like.' But a Stoic said thus to him: '† Do not teaze thyself, Marcellinus, as if thou didst deliberate of a thing of importance; 'tis no great matter to live; thy servants and beasts live; but it is a great thing to die handsomely, wisely, and with fortitude: Do but think how long thou hast done the same thing; eat, drink, and sleep; drink, sleep, and eat. We are incessantly wheeled round in one and the same circle; not only ill and insupportable accidents, but even the

'fatiety

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Cleanthes, lib. viii, sect. 176.

† Senec. ep. 77.

‡ Idem, ib.

‘fatigues of living, inclines a man to desire to die.’ Marcellinus did not stand in need of a man to advise, but of a man to assist him; his servants were afraid to meddle in the business: But this philosopher gave them to understand, ‘That domestics are suspected, even when it is in doubt, whether the death of the master were voluntary, or no; otherwise, that it would be of as ill example to hinder him, as to kill him;’ forasmuch as,

Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti *.

i. e.

Who makes a man to live against his will,
As cruel is, as if he did him kill.

The Stoic afterwards told Marcellinus, ‘That it would not be indecent, as what is left on our tables, when we have dined, is given to the waiters, so, life being ended, to distribute something to those who have been our servants.’ Now Marcellanus was of a free and liberal spirit; he therefore divided a certain sum of money among his attendants, and made them easy. As to the rest, he had no need of steel, nor of blood: He was resolved to go out of this life, and not to run out of it; not to escape from death, but to try it: And, to give himself leisure to parly with it, having forsaken all manner of nourishment, the third day following, when he had caused himself to be sprinkled with warm water, he fainted by degrees, and not without some kind of pleasure, as he himself declared. In earnest, such as have been acquainted with these faintings, proceeding from weakness, do say, that they are therein sensible of no manner of pain, but rather feel a kind of delight, as in a passage to sleep and rest: These are deaths studied and digested.

But, to the end that Cato only may furnish out the whole example of virtue, it seems as if his good destiny had put his ill one into his hand, with which he gave himself the blow; seeing he had the leisure to confront and struggle with death, reinforcing his courage in the highest danger, instead of slackening it. And, if I had been to represent him in his loftiest station, I should have done it in the posture of one tearing out his bloody bowels,

* Horat. in art. poet. y. 467.

bowels, rather than with his sword in his hand, as did the statuary of his time: For this second murder would have been much more furious than the first.

C H A P. XIV. *How the Mind hampers itself.*

TIS a pleasant imagination, to fancy a mind exactly balanced betwixt two equal desires: For, doubtless, it can never pitch upon either, forasmuch as the choice and application would manifest an inequality of value; and were we set betwixt the bottle and the ham, with an equal appetite to drink and to eat, there would, doubtless, be no remedy, but to die for thirst and hunger. To provide against this inconvenience, the Stoics, when they are asked, 'Whence this election in the soul, of two indifferent things, does proceed, (so as, out of a great number of crowns, rather to take one than another, there being no reason to incline us to such a preference)' make answer, 'that this movement of the soul is extraordinary and irregular; that it enters into us by a strange, accidental, and fortuitous impulse.' It might rather, methinks, be said, that nothing presents itself to us wherein there is not some difference, how little soever; and that, either by the sight or touch, there is always some choice, which, tho' it be imperceptibly, tempts and attracts us. Whoever likewise shall presuppose a packthread equally strong throughout, it is utterly impossible it should break; for, where will you have the fracture to begin? And that it should break all together is not in nature. Whoever also should hereunto join the geometrical propositions, that, by the certainty of their demonstrations, conclude the contained to be greater than the containing, the center to be as great as the circumference, and that should find out two lines incessantly approaching each other, with no possibility of their ever meeting; and the philosopher's stone, and the quadrature of the circle, where reason and the effect are so opposite, might, peradventure, draw some argument to prove it, to support this bold saying of Pliny *, 'Solum certum nihil est certi, et homine nihil miserius aut superbius.' That it is only certain there
is

* Plin. lib. ii. c. 7.

is nothing certain, and that nothing is more miserable or proud than man.

CHAP. XV. *That our Desires are augmented by the Difficulty of obtaining them.*

THERE is no reason that has not its contrary, say the wisest of philosophers. I sometimes ruminate on the excellent saying urged by one of the ancients for the contempt of life; 'No good can bring pleasure, unless it be That for the loss of which we are prepared: ' *In æquo est dolor amissæ rei, et timor amittendæ **;' the grief of having lost a thing, and the fear of losing it, are equal. Meaning, by that, that the fruition of life cannot be truly pleasant to us, if we are in fear of losing it.

It might, however, be said, on the contrary, that we grasp and embrace this good the more closely and affectionately, the less assured we are of holding it, and the more we fear to have it taken from us; for it is evident, that as fire burns with greater fury when cold comes to mix with it, so our wills are more sharpened by being opposed:

*Si nunquam Danaen habuisset abenea turris,
Non esset Danae de Jove facta parens †.*

i. e.

A brazen tow'r if Danae had not had,
She ne'er by Jove had been a mother made.

And that there is nothing, in nature, so contrary to our taste as the satiety which proceeds from facility; nor any thing that so much whets it, as rarity and difficulty. † ' *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit.*' The pleasure of every thing increases by the very danger that should deter us from it.

Galla nega, satiatur amor nisi gaudia torquent ||.

i. e.

Galla deny, be not too eas'ly gain'd,
For love will glut with joys too soon obtain'd.
To keep love in breath, Lyncurgus made a decree,
that the married people of Lacedæmonia should never enjoy

* Senec. ep. 98.

† Ovid. am. lib. ii. el. 19. v. 27.

‡ Sen. de ben. lib. vii. c. 9.

|| Mart. lib. iv. epig. 38.

joy one another, but by stealth; and that it should be as great a shame for them to be taken in bed together, as with others. The difficulty of assignations, the danger of surprize, and the shame of the next day.

*Et languor, et silentium,
Et latere petitus imo spiritus *.*

i. e.

The languor, silence, and the far-fetch'd sighs. These are what give the haut-gout to the sauce: how many very wantonly pleasant sports arise from the cleanly and modest way of speaking of the works of love? The pleasure itself seeks to be heightened with pain: It is much sweeter when it smarts, and excoriates. The courtesan Flora said, 'She never lay with Pompey †, 'but that she made him carry off the prints of her 'teeth.'

*Quod petiere, premunt arctè, faciuntque dolorem
Corporis, et dentes inlidunt sæpe labellis;
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant lædere id ipsum
Quodcunque est, rabies unde illæ germina surgunt ‡.*

i. e.

What they desir'd, they hurt, and, 'midst the bliss, Raise pain; and often, with a furious kiss, They wound the balmy — — — But still some sting remains, some fierce desire, To hurt whatever 'twas that rais'd the fire.

And so it is in every thing: difficulty gives all things their valuation. The people of the marquise of Ancona, most chearfully make their vows to St. James de Compostella, and those of Galicia to our lady of Loretto; they make wonderful boasts, at Liege, of the baths of Lucca, and in Tuscany of those of the Spa: There are few Romans seen in the fencing-school at Rome, which is full of French: The great Cato also, like us, was out of conceit with his wife while she was his, and longed for her when in the possession of another. I turned out an old stallion into the paddock, because he was not to be governed when he smelt a mare; the facility presently sated him, with regard to his own, but
on

* Hor. epod. ode xi. v. 13.

† Plutarch in the life of Pompey; c. 1.

‡ Lucr. lib. iv. v. 1072, &c.

on the sight of strange mares, and of the first that passed by his pasture, he would again fall to his importunate neighings, and his furious heats, as before. Our appetite contemns, and passes by what it has in possession, to run after what it has not.

Transvolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat *.

i. e.

Thou scorn'st that last thou may'st with ease enjoy,
And court'st those that are difficult and coy:
So ('sings the rake') my passion can despise
An easy prey, but follows when it flies †.
To forbid us any thing, is to make us eager for it.

———— *nisi tu servare puellam*

Incipis, incipiet desinere esse mea ‡.

i. e.

If thou no better guard that girl of thine,
She'll soon begin to be no longer mine.

To give it wholly up to us, is to beget a contempt
of it in us: want, and abundance, relapse into the same
inconvenience.

Tibi quod superest, mihi quod desit, dolet §.

i. e.

Thy superfluities do trouble thee,
And what I want, and pant for, troubles me.

Desire and fruition do equally afflict us: The rigours
of mistresses are disagreeable, but facility, to say truth,
is more so; forasmuch as discontent and anger spring
from the esteem we have of the thing desired; love
warms and stimulates, but satiety begets disgust; 'tis a
blunt, dull, stupid, and sleepy passion.

Si qua vult regnare diu, contemnat amantem :

———— *contemnite, amantes,*

Sic hodie veniet, si qua negavit heri ||.

i. e.

The lady that would keep her servant still,
If she be wise, will sometimes give him pain:
And the same policy with men will do,
If they sometimes do slight their misses too;

By

* Horat. lib. i. sat. 2. v. 108.

† Mr. Francis.

‡ Ovid. amor. lib. ii. el. 19. v. 47.

§ Terent. Phormio, act. i. sc. 3. v. 9.

|| Ovid. amor. lib. ii. el. 19. v. 33.

By which means she that yesterday said nay,
Will come and offer up herself to-day *.

Why did Poppæa invent the use of a mask to hide her beautiful face, but to enhance it to her lovers? Why have they veiled, even below the heels, those beauties that every one desires to shew, and every one desires to see? Why do they cover, with so many hindrances, one over another, the parts where our desires, and their own have their principal seat? And to what end are those great hooped bastions, with which our ladies fortify their haunches, but to allure our appetite, and to draw us the nearer to them, by removing us the farther from them.

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri †.

i. e.

And to the willows flies to be conceal'd,
Yet does desire to have her flight reveal'd.

Interdum tunica duxit operta moram †.

i. e.

Things, being laid too open to the sight,
Do sometimes put a stop to the delight.

To what use serves the artifice of this virgin modesty, this grave, this severe countenance, this profession to be ignorant of things that they know better than we who instruct them in them, but to increase in us the desire to overcome, controul, and take our swill, in spite of all this ceremony and all these obstacles? For 'tis not only a pleasure, but a glory, to conquer and debauch that soft sweetness, and that childish modesty, and to reduce a cold and matron-like gravity to the mercy of our ardent desires: ' 'Tis a glory,' say they, ' to triumph over ' modesty, chastity, and temperance;' and whoever dissuades ladies from those qualities, betrays both them and himself. It must be believed, that their hearts tremble with fear; that the very sound of our words offends their chaste ears; that they hate us for talking so, and only yield to our importunity by a compulsive force. Beauty, as powerful as it is, has not wherewithal to make itself relished, without the intervention of these little arts. Look into Italy, where there is the most and the finest

* Propert. lib. ii. eleg. 14. v. 19, 20.

† Virg. eclog. 3. v. 65.

† Propert. lib. ii. eleg. 13. v. 6.

beauty to be sold, how it is under a necessity to have recourse to other means, and other artifices, to render itself charming; and yet, in truth, whatever it does, being venal and public, it remains feeble and languishing in itself: Even as in virtue itself, of two like effects, we, notwithstanding, look upon that as the best, and most worthy, wherein the most hindrance and hazard is proposed.

'Tis an effect of the divine providence to suffer his Holy Church to be afflicted, as we see it, with so many storms and troubles, by this opposition to rouse pious souls, and to awake them from that lazy drowsy lethargy, into which, by so long tranquillity, they had been immersed: If we should put the loss we have sustained, by the number of those who have gone astray, in the balance against the benefit we have had, by being again put in breath, and by having our zeal and forces exercised by reason of this opposition, I know not whether the utility would not surmount the damage.

We have thought to tie the nuptial knot more fast and firm, by having taken away all means of dissolving it; but the knot of the will and affection is so much the more slackened and made loose, by how much that of constraint is drawn closer together: And, on the contrary, that which kept the marriages at Rome so long in honour, and inviolate, was the liberty every one, that would, had to break them. They kept their wives the better, because they might part with them if they would; and in the full liberty of divorces they lived fifty years, and more, before any one made use on't.

Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.*

i. e.

What's free we are disgusted at, and slight;

What is forbidden whets the appetite.

We might here introduce the opinion of one of the ancients, upon this occasion, 'That executions rather whet than dull the edge of vices: That they do not beget the care of doing well, that being the work of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be taken in doing ill.'

Latiùs

* Ovid. Amor. lib. i. cl. 19. v. 3.

*Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt *.*

i. e.

The plague-sore being launch'd, th' infection spreads. I do not know that this is true; but I experimentally know, that civil government never was, by that means, reformed: The order and regulation of manners depend upon some other expedient.

The Greek histories make mention of the Agrippians †, neighbours to Scythia, who live either without rod or stick to offend; that not only no one attempts to attack them, but whoever can fly thither is safe, by reason of their virtue and sanctity of life, and no one is so bold as there to lay hands upon them; and they have applications made to them, to determine the controversies that arise betwixt men of other countries. There is a certain nation, where the inclosures of gardens and fields, which they would preserve, is made only of a string of cotton-yarn; and, so fenced, is more firm and secure than our hedges and ditches. ‡ 'Furem signata sollicitant: Aperta effractorius præterit.' Things sealed up, invite a thief: housebreakers pass by open doors.

Peradventure, the facility of entering my house, amongst other things, has been a means to preserve it from the violence of our civil wars: Defence allures an attempt, and defiance provokes an attack. I enervated the soldiers design, by depriving the exploit of all danger, and all matter of military glory, which is wont to serve them for pretence and excuse. Whatever is done courageously, is ever done honourably, at a time when the laws are silent. I render the conquest of my house cowardly and base to them; it is never shut to any one that knocks. My gate has no other guard than a porter, by ancient custom and ceremony; who does not so much serve to defend it, as to offer it with more decency, and the better grace. I have no other guard or centinel than the stars. A gentleman would be in the wrong to make a shew of defence, if he be not really in a condition to defend himself. He that lies open on one side, is every-where so. Our ancestors did not think of building frontier garriçons. The methods of assaulting, I mean,

C 2

without

* Rutilius in Itinerario, lib. i. v. 397.
p. 263.

† Senec. ep. 68.

‡ Herodot. lib. iv.

without battery and army, and of surprising our houses, increase every day above the means to guard them. Mens wits are generally sharp set that way : Invasion every one is concerned in, none but the rich in defence. Mine was strong for the time wherein it was built ; I have added nothing to it of that kind, and should fear lest its strength would turn against myself ; besides which, we are to consider, that a peaceable time would require it to be dismantled. There is danger never to be able to regain it, and it would be very hard to secure it : For, in intestine commotions, your man may be of the party you fear ; and where religion is the pretext, even a man's nearest relation becomes faithless with a colour of justice. The public exchequer will not maintain our domestic garrisons ; they would exhaust it : We ourselves have not wherewithal to do it without our ruin, or, which is more inconvenient and injurious, without ruining the people : As to the rest, you thereby lose all, and even your friends will be ready to accuse your want of vigilancy, and your improvidence, than to pity you, as well as to blame your ignorance or lukewarmness in the duties of your profession. That so many garrisoned houses have been lost, whereas

THIS OF MINE REMAINS, makes me apt to believe, that they were only lost, by being guarded : This gives an enemy both a strong inclination and colour of reason : All watching and warding shews a face of war. Let who will come to me in God's name, but I shall not invite them : 'Tis the retirement I have chosen for my repose from war : I endeavour to sequester this corner from the public tempest, as I also do another corner in my soul. Our war may put on what forms it will, multiply and diversify itself into new parties ; for my own part I shall not budge. Amongst so many garrisoned houses, I am the only person, of my condition, that I know of, who have purely intrusted mine to the protection of heaven, without removing either plate, deeds, or hangings. I will neither fear, nor save myself by halves : If a full acknowledgment can acquire the divine favour, it will continue with me to the end : If not, I have staid long enough, to render my continuance remarkable, and fit to be recorded : How ? why, I have lived there thirty years.

C H A P. XVI. *Of Glory.*

THERE is the name and the thing; the name is a word, which denotes and signifies the thing; the name is no part of the thing, or of the substance; 'tis a foreign piece joined to the thing, and yet without it.

God, who is all fulness in himself, and the height of all perfection, cannot augment or add any thing to himself internally; but his name may be augmented and increased by the blessing and praise we attribute to his exterior works: Which praise, seeing we cannot incorporate it in him, forasmuch as he can have no accession of good, we attribute to his name; which is the part out of him that is nearest to us. Thus is it, that to God alone glory and honour appertain; and there is nothing so remote from reason, as that we should go in quest of it for ourselves; for being indigent and necessitous within, our essence being imperfect, and having continual need of melioration, 'tis for that we ought to labour: We are all hollow and empty; 'tis not with wind and voice that we are to fill ourselves; we want a more solid substance to repair us. A man, starved with hunger, would be very simple to look out rather a gay garment, than a good meal: We are to look after that whereof we have most need: As we have it in our ordinary prayers, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terrâ pax hominibus; * Glory 'be to God on high, and in earth peace, &c.' We are in great want of beauty, health, wisdom, virtue, and such like essential qualities: Exterior ornaments should be looked after, when we have made provision for necessary things. Theology treats amply, and more pertinently of this subject, but I am not much versed in it,

Chrysippus and Diogenes † were the first, and the stoutest champions for the contempt of glory; and maintained, 'That, of all pleasures, there was none more dangerous, nor more to be avoided, than that which proceeds from the approbation of others.' And, in truth, experience makes us sensible of its very hurtful treachery. There is nothing that so much poisons prin-

C 3

ces,

* St. Luke, chap. ii. ver. 14.

† Cic. de fin. lib. ii. c. 30.

ces, as flattery, nor any thing whereby wicked men more easily obtain credit with them : Nor is there any pandarism so proper, and so often made use of, to corrupt the chastity of women, as to wheedle and entertain them with their own praises. The first charm the Syrens made use of to inveigle Ulysses is of this nature.

* *Deca vers nous, deca à tres louable Ulysse,
Et le plus grand bonheur dont la Grece fleurisse †.*

i. e.

To us, noble Ulysses, this way, this,
Thou greatest ornament and pride of Greece.
Those philosophers said, ' That all the glory of the
' world was not worth an understanding man's holding
' out his finger to obtain it :

Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est † ?

i. e.

What's glory in the high'st degree,
If it no more but glory be ?

I say, ' That alone' : For it often brings several commodities along with it, for which it may be desired : It acquires us good-will, and renders us less subject and exposed to the injuries of others, and the like. It was also one of the principal doctrines of Epicurus ; for this precept of his sect, Live obscurely, that forbids men to incumber themselves with offices and public negotiations, does also, necessarily, presuppose a contempt of glory, which is the world's approbation of those actions we produce to light. He that bids us conceal ourselves, and to have no other concern but for ourselves, and that will not have us known to others, would much less have us honoured and glorified. He advises Idomeneus also, ' not, in any sort, to regulate his actions by the common reputation or opinion, except it be to avoid the
' other accidental inconveniences, which the contempt
' of men might bring upon him.'

Those discourses are, in my opinion, very true and rational ; but we are, I know not how, of a twofold nature, which is the cause, that what we believe, we do not believe, and cannot disengage ourselves from what we condemn. Let us see the last dying words of Epicurus ;

* Petrarch.
vii. v. 81.

† Homer Odyss. lib. xii. v. 184.

‡ Juv. Sat.

rus; they are great, and worthy of such a philosopher, and yet they carry some marks of the recommendation of his name, and of that humour he had decried by his precepts. Here is a letter that he dictated a little before his last gasp *.

EPICURUS TO HERMACHUS, greeting.

‘WHILST I was passing over the happy, and the last day of my life, I writ this; but, at the same time, was afflicted with such a pain in my bladder and bowels, that nothing can be greater: But it was recompensed with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inventions and doctrines suggested to my soul. Now, as the affection thou hast ever had, from thy infancy, for me, and philosophy does require; take upon thee the protection of Metrodorus’s children.’

So much for his letter. And that which makes me interpret, that the pleasure, (he says,) he felt in his soul, concerning his inventions, has some reference to the reputation he hoped for after his death, is the disposition of his will. In which he gives order, ‘That † Aminomachus and Timocrates, his heirs, should, every January, defray the expence for the celebration of his nativity, which Hermachus should appoint; and also the expence that should be made, the twentieth day of every moon, in entertaining the philosophers, his friends, who should assemble in honour of the memory of him and Metrodorus.’

Carneades was head of the contrary opinion; and maintained, ‘That † glory was to be desired for itself, even as we embrace our posthumous issue for themselves, without any knowledge or enjoyment of them.’ This opinion was more universally followed, as those readily are, that are most suitable to our inclinations. Aristotle gives it the first place amongst external goods; and

* Cic. de finibus, lib. ii. c. 30. † Idem, ibid. lib. ii. c. 31.

† Cic. de Finibus, lib. iii. c. 17. Here Montaigne is guilty of a mistake, for Cicero did not charge Carneades with this opinion, but other philosophers of Zeno’s sect.

and avoids, as two vicious extremes, the immoderate pursuit of it, or running from it.

I believe, that, if we had the books Cicero has writ upon this subject, we should there read fine stories of it; for he was so possessed with this passion, that, if he had dared, I think he would willingly have fallen into the excess that others did, *viz.* 'That virtue itself was only to be coveted, upon the account of the honour that always attends it.'

Paulum sepultæ distat inertiae

Celata virtus—————*.

i. e.

Virtue, if concealed, doth

Little differ from dead sloth.

Which is an opinion so false, that I am vexed it could ever enter into the understanding of a man that was honoured with the name of a philosopher. If this was true, men need not be virtuous but in public, nor be any further concerned to keep the operations of the soul, which is the true seat of virtue, regular, and in order, than as they are to arrive at the knowledge of others. Is there no more in it than doing an ill thing slyly, and craftily to do ill? 'If thou knowest †, says Carneades, of
' a serpent lurking in a place, where, without suspicion,
' a person is going to sit down, by whose death thou expectest an advantage, thou dost ill, if thou dost not
' give him caution of his danger; and so much the more,
' because the action is to be known by none but thyself.' If we do not take up ourselves a rule of well-doing; if impunity passes with us for justice; to how many sorts of wickedness shall we, every day, abandon ourselves? I do not find what Sext. Peduceus did, in faithfully restoring the treasure that C. Plotius had committed to his sole confidence (a thing that I have often done myself) so commendable, as I should think it execrable, had he done otherwise; and think it of good use, in our days, to call to mind the example of P. Sextilius Rufus ‡, whom Cicero accuses to 'have entered upon an inheritance contrary to his conscience, not only not against
' law, but even by the determination of the laws them-
' selves.'

* Hor. lib. iv. Od. 9. v. 29.

† Cic. de fin. lib. ii. c. 18.

‡ Idem, ibid. c. 17.

' selves.' And M. Crassus and Q. Hortensius, who, by reason of their authority and power, having been called in, by a stranger, to share in a succession, by virtue of a forged will, that so he might secure his own part, satisfied themselves with having no hand in the forgery, and refused not to make their advantage of it; thinking themselves safe enough, if they could shroud themselves from accusations, witnesses, and the cognisance of the laws. ' * Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (ut ' ego arbitror) mentem suam.' Let them consider, they have God to witness, that is, (as I interpret it) their own consciences.

Virtue is a very vain and frivolous thing, if it derives its recommendation from glory: and 'tis to no purpose, that we endeavour to give it a station by itself, and separate it from fortune; for what is more accidental than reputation? † ' Profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur: Ea res cunctas ex libidine, magis quam ex ' vero celebrat, obscuratque.' Fortune rules in all things, and does advance and depress things more from caprice than from right and justice. So to order it, that actions may be known and seen, is purely the work of fortune: 'tis chance that helps us to glory, according to its own temerity. I have often seen her go before merit, and very much outstrip it. He that first likened glory to a shadow, did better than he was aware of: they are, both of them, things egregiously vain: glory also, like a shadow, goes sometimes before the body, and sometimes, in length, very much exceeds it. They that instruct gentlemen only to imploy their valour for the obtaining of honour, ' ‡ Quasi non sit honestum, ' quod nobilitatum non sit.' As though it were not honourable, unless ennobled; what do they intend by that, but to instruct them never to hazard themselves, if they are not seen; and to take great care, that there be witnesses present, who may spread the news of their valour? Whereas a thousand occasions of well-doing present themselves, when we cannot be taken notice of. How many brave actions are buried in the croud of a battle?

* Cic. de Off. lib. iii. c. 10.

† Sallust. in Catilin. p. 5. Mattaire.

‡ Cic. de Offic. lib. i. c. 4.

battle? Whoever takes upon him to censure another, in such a confusion, has scarce any hand in it; and the testimony he gives of his companion's behaviour, is evidence against himself. * 'Vera et sapiens Animi magnitudo honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in Gloria judicat.' The true and wise magnanimity judges, that the bravery which most follows nature, consists in the action, not in the glory. All the glory that I pretend to in my life, is that I have lived it in quiet: In a tranquillity, not according to Metrodorus, Arcefilaus, or Aristippus, but according to myself; for, seeing philosophy has not been able to find out any way to tranquillity, that is good in common, let every one seek it in particular. To what do Cæsar and Alexander owe the infinite grandeur of their renown, but to fortune? How many men has she extinguished in the beginning of their progress, of whom we have no knowledge; who brought as much courage to the work as they, if their evil destiny had not stopped them short at their first setting out? Amongst so many and so great dangers, I do not remember I have any where read, that Cæsar was ever wounded; a thousand have fallen in less dangers, than the least of those he went through. A great many brave actions must have perished without witness, and before one turns to account. A man is not always on the top of a breach, or at the head of an army, in the sight of his general, as upon a scaffold. A man is oft surprised betwixt the hedge and the ditch; he must run the hazard of his life against a hen-roost; he must dislodge four rascally musqueteers out of a barn; he must single out himself from his party, and make some attempts alone, according as necessity requires: And whoever will observe, will, I believe, find it experimentally true, that actions of the least lustre are the most dangerous; and that, in the wars of our own times, there have more brave men been lost on slight occasions of little moment, and in the dispute of some paltry fort, than in places of note and dignity.

He who thinks his death unworthy of him, if he do not fall on some signal occasions, instead of illustrating
his

* Cic. de Offic. lib. i. c. 19.

his death, doth wilfully obscure his life, suffering, in the mean time, many just occasions, of hazarding himself, to slip out of his hands: and every just one is illustrious enough; every man's conscience being a sufficient trumpeter to him. 'Gloria nostra est, Testimonium Conscientiæ nostræ. 'For * our rejoicing is this, the 'testimony of our conscience,' He who is only a good man, that men may know it, and that he may be the better esteemed for it, when 'tis known: He who will not do well, but upon condition that his virtue may be known to men, is one from whom much service is not to be expected.

*Credo ch' el resto di quel verno cose
Faceffe degne di tenerne conto:
Ma fur fin a quel tempo si nascosse,
Che non e colpa mia s'hor non le conto,
Porche Orlando a far' opre virtuose
Piu ch'a narrar le poi sempre era pronto;
Ne mai fu alcun' de suoi fatti espresso,
Se non quand' hebbe i testimoni appresso †.*
i. e.

The rest o' th' winter, I presume, was spent
In actions worthy of eternal fame;
Which hitherto are in such darkness pent,
That, if I name them not, I'm not to blame:
Orlando's noble mind was still more bent
To do great acts, than boast him of the same;
So that no deeds of his were ever known,
But those that luckily had lookers on.

A man must go to the war to discharge his duty, and wait for the recompence that never fails all brave actions, how concealed soever, nor so much as virtuous thoughts; 'tis the satisfaction that a well-disposed conscience receives in itself, to do well: A man must be valiant for himself, and for the advantage it is to him, to have his courage in a firm and secure situation, against the assaults of fortune.

*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus:*

Nec

* 2 Cor. chap. i. ver. 12.

† Orlando's Ariosto, cant. xi. stanz. 81.

*Nec sumit, aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ*.*

i. e.

Virtue, that ne'er repulse admits,
In taintless honours glorious sits;
Nor takes, or leaveth dignities,
As the mere noise of vulgar cries.

It is not to make a parade, that the soul is to play its part, but for ourselves within, where no eyes can pierce, but our own; there she defends us from the fear of death, of pains, and shame itself: She there arms us against the loss of our children, friends, and fortunes: And, when opportunity presents itself, she leads us on to the hazards of war. 'Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore.' Not for any emolument, but for the honour of virtue. This is a much greater advantage, and more worthy to be coveted and hoped for than honour and glory; which is no other than a favourable judgment formed of us.

A dozen men must be culled out of a whole nation, to judge of an acre of land; and the judgment of our inclinations and actions, the hardest and most important thing that is, we refer to Vox Populi too often, the mother of ignorance, injustice, and inconstancy. Is it reasonable, that the life of a wise man should depend upon the judgment of fools? '† An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos?' Can any thing be more foolish, than to think, that those you despise single, are estimable in the bulk? He that makes it his business to please them, will never succeed; 'tis a mark that never is to be reached or hit. 'Nil tam inæstimabile est, quam animi multitudinis.' Nothing is to be so little esteemed, as the judgment of the multitude. Demetrius pleasantly said of the voice of the people, 'That he made no more of that which came from above, than of that which fumed from below.' ‡ Cicero says more, 'Ego hoc judico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudetur: I am of opinion, that, tho'

* Hor. lib. iii. ode 2. v. 17, &c.

† Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. v. v. 36.

‡ Cic. de fin. lib. ii. c. 15.

tho' a thing be not foul in itself, yet it cannot but become so when commended by the multitude. No art, no dexterity could conduct our steps, in following so wandering and so irregular a guide. In this windy confusion of the noise of vulgar reports and opinions, that drive us on, no good path can be chosen. Let us not propose to ourselves an end so floating and wavering; let us follow constantly after reason; let the public approbation follow us in that road, if it will; and, as it wholly depends upon fortune, we have no rule sooner to expect it by any other way than that. Tho' I would not follow the right way, because it is right, I should, however, follow it for having experimentally found, that, at the end of the reckoning, 'tis commonly the most happy, and of greatest utility. 'Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honesta magis juvarent.' This gift providence has given to man, that honest things should be the most delightful. The mariner said thus to Neptune, in a great storm, 'O God, thou may'st save me if thou wilt, and, if thou wilt, thou may'st destroy me; but I will still steer my rudder true.' I have seen, in my time, a thousand men of supple mongrel natures, and who no one doubted but they were more worldly wise than I, ruin themselves where I have saved myself.

*Risi successus posse carere dolos **.

i. e.

I have laugh'd, I must confess,

To see cunning want success.

Paulus Æmilius, going in the glorious expedition of Macedonia, above all things charged the people of Rome, 'Not to speak of his actions during his absence.' What a disturbance is the licence of judgments to great affairs! Forasmuch as every one has not the constancy of Fabius, to oppose common, adverse, and injurious tongues, who rather suffered his authority to be dissected by the vain fancies of man, than to fail in his duty, with a favourable reputation, and popular applause.

There is, I know not what, natural sweetness in hearing a man's self commended; but we are a great deal too fond of it.

Laudari haud metuam, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est,

* Ovid. ep. Penelopes ad Ulysses.

*Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso.
Euge tuum, et belle. — — **

i. e.

I fear not to be prais'd, I must confess,
My heart is not of horn; but ne'ertheless,
I must deny the only end and aim
Of doing well is to hear man exclaim.
O noble act! Eternal be thy fame!

}

I care not so much what I am in the opinion of others, as what I am in my own: I would be rich of myself, and not by borrowing. Strangers see nothing but events and outward appearances; every-body can set a good face on the matter, when they have trembling and terror within. They do not see my heart, they only see my countenance. 'Tis with good reason that men decry the hypocrisy that is in war; for what is more easy to an old soldier, than to step aside from dangers, and to bluster, when he has no more heart than a chicken? There are so many ways to avoid hazarding a man's own person, that men have deceived the world a thousand times before they are engaged in a real danger: And, even then, finding themselves at a nonplus, they can make shift, for that time, to conceal their apprehensions, by setting a good face on the business, tho' the heart beats within; and whoever had the use of the Platonic ring, which renders those invisible that wear it, if turned inward towards the palm of the hand, a great many would, very often, hide themselves when they ought most to appear; and would repent being placed in so honourable a post, where of necessity, they must be bold.

*Falsus honor jurat, et mendax infamia terret,
Quem nisi mendosum, et mendacem †?*

i. e.

False honour pleases, false rumours do disgrace
And frighten, whom? Dunces, and lyars base.
Thus we see how uncertain and doubtful are all the judgments that are founded upon external appearances, and that there's not so sure a testimony as every man is to himself: In those others, how many powder-monkeys have we companions of our glory? he that stands firm in an open trench, what does he, in that, more than
what

* Persius sat. i. v. 47.

† Hor. lib. i. epist. 16. v. 39, 40.

what fifty poor pioneers, who open the way for him, and cover it with their own bodies, for five-pence a day, have done before him?

—*non quicquid turbida Roma*

Elevet, accedas, examenque improbum in illa

*Castiges trutina, nec te quæsieris extra *.*

i. e.

—Whatever muddy headed Rome

Extols or censures, trust not to its doom;

Stand not to th' award of an ill-judging town,

Nor by its falser scale adjust your own;

No, no, for other judgments ask no more,

To know thyself, thyself alone explore.

The extending and scattering our names into many mouths, we call aggrandising them; we would have them there well received, and that this increase turn to their advantage, which is all that can be excusable in this design; but the excess of this disease proceeds so far, that many covet to have a name, be it what it will. Trogus Pompeius says of Herostratus, and † Titus Livius of Manlius Capitolinus, 'That they were more ambitious of a great reputation, than a good one.' This vice is very common: We are more solicitous that men speak of us, than how they speak; and 'tis enough, for us, that our names are often mentioned, be it after what manner it will. It should seem that to be known, is, in some sort, to have a man's life, and its duration, in another's keeping. I, for my part, hold, that I am not but in myself, and of that other life of mine, which lies in the knowledge of my friends, to consider it naked and simply in itself, I know, very well, that I am sensible of no Fruit nor enjoyment of it, but by the vanity of a fantastick opinion; and, when I shall be dead, I shall be much less sensible of it; and if I shall, withal, absolutely lose the use of those real advantages that, sometimes, accidentally follow it, I shall have no more handle whereby to take hold of reputation; neither shall it have any whereby to take hold of, or to reach to me: For, to expect that my name should be advanced by it, in the first place, I have no name that is enough my own; of two that I have, one is common to all my race, and even to others also:

D 2

There

* Persius sat. i. v. 5, &c.

† Tit. Liv. lib. vi. c. 11.

There is one family at Paris and Montpelier, whose surname is Montaigne; another in Britany, and another Montaigne in Xaintonge. The transposition of one syllable only will so confound our affairs, that I shall, peradventure, share in their glory, and they, perhaps, in my shame; and moreover, my ancestors have, formerly, been surnamed Eyquem, a name that borders on that of a family well known in England: As to my other name, every one may take it that will: And so, perhaps, I may honour a porter in my own stead: And, besides, though I had a particular distinction by myself, what can it distinguish when I am no more? Can it point out, and favour annihilation?

—*nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa,
Laudat posteritas, nunc non è manibus illis,
Nunc non è tumulo fortunataque favilla
Nascuntur violæ *?*——

i. e.

Will, after this, thy monumental stones,
Press with less weight upon thy rotted bones?
Posterity commends thee: Happy thou!
Will not thy Manes such a gift bestow,
As to make violets from thy ashes grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As to what remains, in a great battle, where ten thousand men are maimed or killed, there are not fifteen that are taken notice of: It must be some very eminent greatness, or some consequence of great importance, which fortune has tacked to it, that must signalize a private action, not of a musqueteer only, but of a great captain; for, to kill a man, or two, or ten, to expose a man's self bravely to death, is, indeed, something to every one of us, because we all run the hazard; but, as for the world in the general they are things so common, so many of them are every day seen, and there must, of necessity, be so many, of the same kind, to produce any notable effect, that we cannot expect any particular renown.

—*casus multis hic cognitus, ac jam
Tritus, et è medio fortunæ ductus acervo †.*

i. e.

Many have known this case, which now, worn old,
With common acts of fortune is inroll'd. Of

* Pers. sat. i. v. 37, &c.

† Juv. sat. xiii. v. 9, &c.

Of so many thousands of valiant men that have died, within these fifteen hundred years, in France, with their swords in their hands, not a hundred have come to our knowledge: The memory, not of the commanders only, but of the battles and victories, is buried. The fortunes of above half of the world, for want of a record, stir not from their place, and vanish without duration. If I had unknown events in my possession, I should think, with great ease, to out-do those that are recorded in examples of every kind. Is it not strange, that, even of the Greeks and Romans, amongst so many writers and witnesses, and so many rare and noble exploits, so few are arrived at our knowledge?

*Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura *.*

i. e.

Which fame to these our times has scarce brought down.

It will be much, if, a hundred years hence, it be remembered, in gross, that, in our times, there were civil wars in France. The Lacedæmonians, entering into battle, sacrificed to the Muses, to the end that their actions might be well and worthily writ; looking upon it as a divine, and no ordinary favour, that brave acts should find witnesses that could give them life and remembrance. Do we expect, that, at every musquet-shot we receive, and at every hazard we run, there must be a register ready to record them? And, besides, a hundred registers may inrol them, whose commentaries will not last above three days, and never come to the sight of any reader. We have not the thousandth part of the ancient writings; 'tis fortune that gives them a shorter or longer life, according to her favour; and we may well doubt, whether those we have be not the worst, having not seen the rest. Men do not write histories of things of so little moment: A man must have been general in the conquest of an empire, or a kingdom; he must have won two and fifty set battles, and always the weakest in number of men, as Cæsar did. Ten thousand brave fellows, and several great captains lost their lives, gallantly and courageously, in his service, whose names lasted no longer than their wives and children lived.

Æncid. lib. vii. x. 646.

D 3

Quos

Quos fama obscura recondit *.

i. e.

Whom time has not deliver'd o'er to fame.

Even of those we see behave the best ; three months, or three years after they have been knocked on the head, they are no more spoken of, than if they had never been.

Whoever will justly consider, with due proportion, what kind of men, and what sort of actions are recorded, with honour, in history, will find, that there are very few actions, and very few persons of our times, who can there pretend any right. How many worthy men have we seen survive their own reputation, who have seen and suffered the honour and glory, most justly acquired in their youth, extinguished in their own presence ? And for three years of this fantastic and imaginary life, we go and throw away our true and essential life, and engage ourselves to a perpetual death ? The sages propose to themselves a nobler and more just end to so important an enterprise. ‘ † Recte facti, fecisse merces est : Officii fructus, ipsum officium est.’ The reward of a thing well done is to have done it : The fruit of a good office is the office itself. It were, peradventure, excusable in a painter, or any other artisan, or even in a rhetorician, or a grammarian, to endeavour to raise themselves a name by their works ; but the actions of virtue are too noble in themselves, to seek any other reward than from their own value, and especially to seek it in the vanity of human judgment.

If this false opinion, nevertheless, be of that use to the public, as to keep men in their duty ; if the people are thereby stirred up to virtue ; if princes are touched to see the world bless the memory of Trajan, and abominate that of Nero ; if it moves them to see the name of that great beast, once so terrible, and dreaded, so freely cursed and reviled by every school-boy, let it, in the name of God, increase, and be, as much as possible, cherished amongst us. And Plato, bending his whole endeavour to make his citizens virtuous, does also advise them, ‘ Not to despise the good esteem of the people ;’ and says, ‘ That it falls out, by a certain divine inspiration, that even the wicked themselves, oft-

times,

* *Æneid* lib. v. v. 302.† *Senec. ep.* 81.

‘ times, as well by word as opinion, can rightly distinguish the virtuous from the wicked.’ This person, and his tutor, are marvellous bold artificers, to add divine operations and revelations wherever human force is wanting: And, peradventure, for this reason it was, that Timon, railing at him, called him, ‘ The great forger of miracles.’ ‘ * Ut tragici Poetæ confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt:’ As tragic poets fly to some God, when they are at a loss to wind up their piece. Seeing that men, by their insufficiency, cannot pay themselves well enough with current money, let the counterfeit be superadded: ’Tis a way that has been practised by all the legislators; and there is no government that has not some mixture, either of ceremonial vanity, or of false opinion, that serves for a curb to keep people in their duty: ’Tis for this that most of them have their fabulous originals and beginnings, and so enriched with supernatural mysteries: ’Tis this that has given credit to bastard religions, and caused them to be countenanced by men of understanding; and for this that Numa and Sertorius, to possess their men with a better opinion of them, fed them with this foppery; one, that the nymph Egeria, the other, that his white Hind brought them all their resolutions from the Gods. And the authority that Numa gave to his laws, under the title of a patronage of this Goddess, Zoroaster, legislator of the Bactrians and Persians, gave to his, under the name of the God Oromazis; Trismegistus, legislator of the Egyptians, under that of Mercury; Zambooxis, legislator of the Scythians, under that of Vesta; Charondas, legislator of the Chalcidians, under that of Saturn; Minos, legislator of the Candians, under that of Jupiter; Lycurgus, legislator of the Lacedæmonians, under that of Apollo; and Draco and Solon, legislators of the Athenians, under that of Minerva. And every government has a God at the head of it; others falsely, that truly which Moses set over the Jews at their departure out of Egypt. The religion of the Bedouins, as the Sire de Joinville reports, amongst other things, † enjoined a belief, ‘ That the soul of him, amongst

* Cic. de nat. deor. lib. i. c. 20.

† In his memoirs, c. 57. p. 357, 358.

' amongst them, who died for his prince, went into another more happy body, more beautiful and more robust than the former;' by which means they much more willingly ventured their lives.

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum est reditura parcere vitæ*.*

i. e.

Men covet wounds, and strive death to embrace,
To save a life, which to return is base.

This is a very comfortable belief, however erroneous it is. Every nation has many such examples of its own: But this subject would require a treatise by itself.

To add one word more to my former discourse, I would advise the ladies no more to call that honour, which is but their duty, † *Ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum?* 'According to the vulgar stile, that only is honourable, which has the public applause;' their duty is the grape, their honour but the outward husk. Neither would I advise them to give that excuse as payment for their denial: For I presuppose, that their intentions, their desire and will, which are things wherein their honour is not at all concerned, forasmuch as nothing of it appears externally, are much better regulated than the effects.

Quæ quia non liceat non facit, illa facit ‡.

i. e.

She, who sins not, 'cause it unlawful is,

In being therefore chaste, has done amiss.

The offence both towards God, and in the conscience, would be as great to desire, as to do it: And, besides, they are actions so private and secret of themselves, as would be very easily kept from the knowledge of others wherein the honour consists; if they had no other respect to their duty, and to the affection they bear to chastity for its own sake: Every woman of honour rather chuses to wound her honour, than her conscience.

C H A P.

* Lucan. lib. i. v. 461.

† Cic. de fin. lib. ii. c. 15.

‡ Ovid. amor. lib. iii. el. 4. v. 4.

C H A P. XVII. Of Presumption.

THERE is another sort of glory, which is the having *too good an opinion* of our own merit. 'Tis an inconsiderate affection, with which we flatter ourselves, and that represents us to ourselves other than what we truly are: Like the passion of love, that lends beauties and graces to the object of it; and makes those who are caught with it, by a depraved and corrupt judgment, consider the thing they love other and more perfect than it is.

I would not, nevertheless, that a man, for fear of failing in this point, should mistake himself, or think himself less than he is; the judgment ought, in all things, to keep its prerogative: 'Tis all the reason in the world he should discern, in himself, as well as in others, what truth sets before him; if he be Cæsar, let him boldly think himself the greatest captain in the world. We are nothing but ceremony; ceremony carries us away, and we leave the substance of things; we hold by the branches, and quit the trunk. We have taught the ladies to blush, when they hear but that named, which they are not at all afraid to do: We dare not call our members by their right names, and yet are not afraid to employ them in all sorts of debauchery. Ceremony forbids us to express, by words, things, that are lawful and natural, and we obey it: Reason forbids us to do things unlawful and ill, and no-body obeys it. I find myself here fettered by the laws of ceremony; for it neither permits a man to speak well of himself, nor ill. We will leave her there for this time: They whom fortune (call it good or ill) has made to pass their lives in some eminent degree, may, by their public actions, manifest what they are: But they whom she has only employed in the croud, and of whom no-body will speak, if they don't speak for themselves, are to be excused, if they take courage to talk of themselves, to such who are concerned to know them, by the example of Lucilius,

*Ille velut fdis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris, neque si malè cesserat, usquam
Decurrens; alio neque si bene: Quo fit ut omnis.*

Voliva

Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella

Vita senis * —————

i. e.

His secrets to his books he did commend,
As free as to his dearest bosom friend :
Whether he wrote with, or against the grain,
The old man's life his verses do explain.

He committed to paper his actions and thoughts, and there pourtrayed himself such as he found himself to be. † ‘Nec id Rutilio, et Scauro citra fidem, aut obrectationi fuit :’ ‘Nor were Rutilius or Scaurus misbelieved, or condemned for so doing.’

I remember then, that, from my infancy, there was observed in me I know not what kind of carriage and gesture, that seemed to relish of foolish pride. I will say this, in the first place, that it is not unlikely, that there are qualities and propensions so proper and incorporated into us, that we have not the means to feel and know them : And of such natural inclinations the body is apt to retain a certain bent, without our knowledge or consent. It was quaint affectation, confederate of beauty, that made Alexander carry his head on one side, and Alcibiades to lisp ; Julius ‡ Cæsar scratched his head with one finger, which is the mark of a man possessed with uneasy thoughts ; and Cicero, as I remember, was wont to turn up his nose, a sign of a man given to scoffing : Such motions, as these, may, imperceptibly, happen in us. There are other artificial ones, which I meddle not with ; as salutations and congees, by which men, for the most part, unjustly acquire the reputation of being humble and courteous ; or, perhaps, humble out of pride. I am prodigal enough of my hat, especially in summer, and never am so saluted, but I pay it again, from persons of what quality soever, unless they be in my pay. I should be glad, that some princes, whom I know, would be more sparing of that ceremony, and bestow that courtesy where it is more due ; for, being so indiscreetly profuse of it, 'tis thrown away to no purpose, if it be without respect of persons : Amongst irregular

* Hor. lib. ii. sat. i. v. 30, &c. † Tacit. in vita Agricola, c. 1. ‡ Plutarch in the life of Cæsar, c. 1.

gular countenances, let us not forget that severe one * of the emperor Constantius, who always, in public, held his head upright and straight, without bending or turning it on either side, not so much as to look upon those who saluted him on one side, planting his body in a stiff immoveable posture, without suffering it to yield to the motion of his coach; not daring so much as to spit, blow his nose, or wipe his face before people. I know not whether the gestures that were observed in me, were of this first quality, and whether I had really any secret propensity to this vice, as it might well be; and I cannot be responsible for the swing of the body.

But, as to the motions of the soul, I must here confess what I am sensible of there. This vanity consists of two parts, the setting too great a value upon ourselves, and too little a value upon others.

As to the one, methinks these considerations ought, in the first place, to be of some weight. I feel myself importuned by an error of the soul, that displeases me, both as it is unjust, and the more, as it is troublesome: I attempt to correct it, but I cannot root it out; which is, that I lessen the just value of things that I possess, and over-value others, because they are foreign, absent, and none of mine: This humour spreads very far: As the prerogative of the authority makes husbands to look upon their own wives with a vicious disdain, and many fathers their children, so do I: And, betwixt two equal merits, I should always be swayed against my own: Not so much that the jealousy of my preferment, and the bettering of my affairs does trouble my judgment, and hinders me from satisfying myself, as because dominion, of itself, begets a contempt of what is our own, and over which we have an absolute command. Foreign governments, manners, and languages insinuate themselves into my esteem; and I am very sensible, that Latin allures me, by the favour of its dignity, to value it above its due, as happens to children, and the common sort of people. The æconomy, house, and horse of my neighbour, though no better than my own, I prize above my own, because they are not mine: Besides that, I am very ignorant in my own affairs; I admire at the
assurance

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxi. c. 14.

assurance that every one has of himself: Whereas there is not, almost, any thing that I am sure I know, or that I dare be responsible to myself that I can do: I have not my means of doing any thing stated and ready, and am only instructed after the effect, being as doubtful of my own force, as I am of another's; whence it comes to pass, that, if I happen to do any thing commendable, I attribute it more to my fortune than industry; forasmuch as I design every thing by chance, and in fear. I have this also in general, that, of all the opinions antiquity has held of men in gross, I most willingly embrace, and most adhere to those that most condemn, vilify, and annihilate us. Methinks philosophy has never so fair a game to play, as when it falls upon our vanity and presumption; when it discovers man's irresolution, weakness, and ignorance. I look upon the too good opinion, that man has of himself, to be the nursing mother of the falsest opinions, both public and private. Those people who ride astride upon the epicycle of Mercury, who see so far into the heavens, are worse to me than pickpockets: For, in my study, the subject of which is man, finding so great a variety of judgments, so profound a labyrinth of difficulties one upon another; so great a diversity and uncertainty, even in the school of wisdom itself; you may judge, seeing those people could not be certain of the knowledge of themselves, and their own condition, which is continually before their eyes, and within them; seeing they do not know, how that moves, which they themselves move, nor how to give us a description of the springs they themselves govern and make use of; how can I believe them about the ebbing and flowing of the Nile? 'The curiosity of knowing things has been given to man for a scourge,' says the holy scripture. But, to return to what concerns myself, I think it very hard, that any other should have a meaner opinion of himself; nay, that any other should have a meaner opinion of me, than I have of myself. I look upon myself as one of the common sort, saving in what I am obliged for to myself; guilty of the meanest and most popular defects, but not disowned or excused; and do not value myself upon any other account, than because I know my own value.

If

If I have any vanity, 'tis superficially infused into me by the treachery of my constitution, and has no body that my judgment can discern. I am sprinkled, but not dyed: For, in truth, as to the productions of the mind, no part of them, be it what it will, ever satisfied me, and the approbation of others is no coin for me; my judgment is tender and nice, especially in my own concern; I feel myself float and waver by reason of my weakness. I have nothing of my own that satisfies my judgment: My sight is clear and regular enough, but, in opening it, 'tis apt to dazzle, as I most manifestly find in poetry: I love it infinitely, and am able to give a tolerable judgment of other men's works: But, in good earnest, when I apply myself to it, 'tis so puerile, that I cannot endure myself. A man may play the fool in every thing else, but not in poetry.

— *Mediocribus esse poetis*

*Non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ *.*

i. e.

But neither men, nor Gods, nor pillars meant
To honour poetry indifferent.

I would to God this sentence was writ over the doors of all our printers, to forbid the entrance of so many rhimers.

— *verum*

Nihil securius est malo poeta †.

i. e.

— But the truth is, and all the critics shew it,
None's more conceited than a sorry poet.

Have not we such people? Dionysius, the father, valued himself so much upon nothing as his poetry. At the Olympic games, with chariots surpassing all others in magnificence, he sent also poets and musicians to present his verses, with tents and pavilions royally gilt, and hung with tapestry. When his verses came to be recited, the grace and excellency of the pronunciation did, at first, attract the attention of the people; but when they, afterwards, came to pause on the meanness of the composition, they first disdained it, and their judgments, being more and more nettled, presently proceeded to fury, and ran to pull down, and tear all his pavilions to

* Horat. de art. poet. v. 372, 373. † Mart. lib. xii. epig. 64.

pieces. And * forasmuch as his chariots neither performed any thing to purpose in the race, and as the ship, which brought back his people, failed of making Sicily, and was, by the tempest, driven and wrecked upon the coast of Tarentum, they did certainly believe the Gods were incensed, as they themselves were, against that paltry Poem ; and even the mariners, who escaped from the wreck, seconded this opinion of the people ; to which the oracle, that foretold his death, also seemed, in some measure, to subscribe ; which was, ' That Dionysius † ' should be near his end, when he should have overcome those who were better than himself : ' This he interpreted of the Carthaginians, who surpassed him in power ; and, having war with them, often declined and moderated victory, lest he should incur the sense of this prediction : But he misunderstood it ; for the God pointed at the time of the advantage, that, by favour and injustice, he obtained, at Athens, over the tragic poets, better than himself, having caused his own play, called the Leneians, to be acted in emulation : Presently after this victory he died, and partly of the excessive joy he conceived at the success of it. What I find tolerable of mine, is not so really, and in itself ; but in comparison of other worse things, that, I see, are well enough received : I envy the happiness of those that can please and hug themselves in what they do, for 'tis a very easy thing to be so pleased, because a man extracts that pleasure from himself, especially if he be constant in his self-conceit. I know a poet, against whom both the intelligent in poetry, and the ignorant, abroad and at home, both heaven and earth, exclaim, that he has no notion of it ; and yet, for all that, he has never a whit the worse opinion of himself, but is always falling upon some new piece, always contriving some new invention, and still persists, with so much the more obstinacy, as it only concerns himself to stand up in his own defence.

My works are so far from pleasing me, that, as oft as I review them, they disgust me :

*Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,
Me quoque qui feci, judice digna lini †.*

i. e.

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiv. c. 28. † Idem, ibid. lib. xv. c. 20. ‡ Ovid. de Ponto, lib. i. eleg. 6. v. 15, 16.

i. e.

When I peruse, I blush at what I've writ,
And think 'tis only for the fire fit.

I have always an idea, in my mind, of a better form than that I have made use of, but I cannot catch it, nor fit it to my purpose; and yet even that idea is but of the middle class; by which I conclude, that the productions of those rich and great genius's, of former times, are very much beyond the utmost stretch of my imagination, or my wish. Their writings do not only satisfy and fill me, but they astonish me, and ravish me with admiration: I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to perfection, yet so far, at least, as 'tis possible for me to aspire to. Whatever I undertake, I owe a sacrifice to the graces, as Plutarch says of some one, to cultivate their favour.

— *si quid enim placet,
Si quid dulce hominum sensibus influit,
Debentur lepidis omnia Gratiis.*

i. e.

If any thing does please, that I do write,
Into men's minds if it infuse delight,
All's to the lovely Graces due.

They abandon me throughout: All I write is rude, and wants polishing and beauty: I cannot set things off to the best advantage, my handling adds nothing to the matter; for which reason I must have a subject forcible, very copious, and that has a lustre of its own. If I pitch upon subjects that are popular and gay, 'tis to follow my own inclination, who do not affect a grave and ceremonious wisdom, as the world does; and to make myself, not my stile, more sprightly, which requires them rather grave and severe, at least, if I may call that a stile which is rough and irregular phraseology, a vulgar jargon, and a proceeding without definition, division, and without conclusion, and perplexed, like that of * Amasianus and Rabirius. I can neither please nor delight, much less ravish: The best story in the world is tarnished by my handling. I cannot speak but in earnest, and am totally unprovided of that facility, which I observe in many of my acquaintance, of entertaining

E 2

the

* Cic. Acad. Quest. lib. i. c. 2.

the first comers, and keeping a whole company in breath, or amusing the ears of a prince, with all sorts of discourse, without being weary; they never wanting matter, by reason of the faculty and grace they have in taking hold of the first thing that is started, and accommodating it to the humour and capacity of those with whom they have to do. Princes do not much affect solid discourses, nor I to tell stories: The first and easiest reasons, which are commonly the most liked, I know not how to imploy: I am a bad orator to the common sort: I am apt, of every thing, to say the utmost that I know. Cicero is of opinion, 'That, * in treatises of philosophy, the Exordium is the hardest part;' which, if it be true, I am wise in sticking to the conclusion: And yet we are to know how to wind the string to all notes, and the sharpest is that which is the most seldom touched: There is, at least, as much perfection in elevating an empty, as in supporting a weighty thing: A man must sometimes superficially handle things, and sometimes sift them to the bottom: I know, very well, that most men keep themselves in this lower form, for not conceiving otherwise than by this surface: But I likewise know, that the greatest masters, and Xenophon and Plato often condescend to this low and popular manner of speaking and treating of things, and yet maintain them with graces, which are never wanting to them.

As to the rest, my language has nothing in it that is easy and fluent; 'tis rough, free, and irregular; and therefore best pleases my inclination, if not my judgment: But I very well perceive, that I sometimes give myself too much rein; and that, by endeavouring to avoid art and affectation, I relapse into it from another quarter.

———— *brevis esse labor,*

Obscurus fio †.

i. e.

* Montaigne only quotes this sentiment to ridicule Cicero, whom he treats rather as a fine orator than an acute philosopher, in which he was not much in the wrong; for whoever nicely examines Cicero's philosophical works, will easily see, that they are only the sentiments of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, &c. elegantly and politely translated into Latin.

† Horat. Art. poet. v. 25, 26.

i. e.

I strive to be concise,

I prove obscure.

Plato says, ' That the long, nor the short, are not
' properties, that either take away, or give worth to
' language.' Should I attempt to follow the other more
even, smooth, and regulated stile, I should never attain
to it; and, though the short round periods and cadences
of Sallust best suit with my humour, yet I find Cæsar
greater, and harder to imitate; and, though my inclina-
tion would rather prompt me to imitate Seneca's way of
writing, yet I, nevertheless, more esteem that of Plu-
tarch. Both in silence and speaking, I simply follow my
own natural way; from whence, peradventure, it falls
out, that I am better at speaking than writing. Motion
and action animate words, especially in those who lay
about them briskly, as I do, and grow hot. The com-
portment, the countenance, the voice, the robe, and
the tribunal, may set off some things, that, of them-
selves, would appear no better than prating. Messala
complains, in Tacitus *, of the ' streightness of some
' garments in his time, and of the form of the Rostra,
' where the orators were to declaim, which weakened
' their eloquence.'

My French tongue is corrupted, both in pronuncia-
tion, and elsewhere, by the barbarism of my country: I
never saw a man, who was a native of any of the pro-
vinces on this side of the kingdom, who had not the
brogue of his place of birth, and which was not offen-
sive to ears that were purely French: And yet it is not
that I am so perfect in my Perigordin; for I am no more
conversant in it than High-Dutch, nor do I much care.

'Tis a language, like the rest about me on every side,
those of Poitou, Xaintongue, Angoulesme, Limosin,
and Auvergne, a mixed, drawling, dirty language.

There is, indeed, above us, towards the mountains,
a sort of Gascon spoke, that I am mightily taken with,
which is dry, concise, significant, and, in truth, a more
manly and military language than any other I am ac-
quainted with; as nervous, potent, and pertinent, as
the French is graceful, delicate, and copious.

* In his dialogue, *De causis corruptæ eloquentiæ sub finem.*

As to the Latin, which was given me for my mother-tongue, I have, by disuse, lost the use of speaking it, and, indeed, of writing it too, wherein I formerly excelled; by which you may see how inconsiderable I am on that side.

Beauty is a thing of great recommendation in the correspondency amongst men; 'tis the principal means of acquiring the favour and good-liking of one another, and no man is so barbarous and morose, that does not perceive himself, in some sort, struck with its comeliness. The body has a great share in our being, has an eminent place there, and therefore its structure and composition are of very just consideration. They who go about to disunite, and separate our two principal parts from one another, are to blame: We must, on the contrary, unite and rejoin them. We must command the soul, not to withdraw to entertain itself apart, not to despise and abandon the body, (neither can she do it, but by some ridiculous counterfeit) but to unite herself close to it, to embrace, cherish, assist, govern, and advise it, and to bring it back, and set it into the true way when it wanders; in sum, to espouse, and be a husband to it, forasmuch as their effects do not appear to be diverse and contrary, but uniform and concurring. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this connexion, for they know, that the divine justice embraces this society and conjunction of body and soul, even to the making the body capable of eternal rewards; and that God has an eye to every man's ways, and will have him to receive, entire, the chastisement or reward of his demerits. The sect of the Peripatetics, of all others the most sociable, does attribute to wisdom this sole care, equally to provide for, and procure the good of these two associate parts: And the other sects, in not sufficiently applying themselves to the consideration of this mixture, shew themselves to be partial, one for the body, and the other for the soul, with equal error; and to have lost their subject, which is Man; and their guide, which they generally confess to be Nature. The first distinction that ever was amongst men, and the first consideration that gave some pre-eminence over others, 'tis likely, was the advantage of beauty.

———— *agros divisere, atque dedere*
Pro facie cujusque, et viribus, ingenioque :
*Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vigeant *.*

i. e.

———— Then steady bounds

Mark'd out to every man his proper grounds ;
 Each had his proper share, each one was fit,
 According to his beauty, strength, or wit ;
 For beauty then, and strength had most command.

Now, I am something lower than the middle stature, a defect that's not only disagreeable, but inconvenient, especially to those who are in office and command, for want of the authority derived from a graceful presence, and a majestic stature. C. Marius did not, willingly, list any soldiers under six feet high. The courtier has, indeed, reason to desire a common stature in the person he is to make, rather than any other, and to reject all strangeness that should make him pointed at : But, in chusing, if it be necessary, in this mediocrity, to have him rather below than above the common standard, I would not have a soldier to be so. ' Little men, says Aristotle, are very pretty, but not handsome ; and greatness of soul is discovered in a great body, as beauty is in a large tall one. The Ethiopians and Indians, says he, in chusing their kings and magistrates, had a special regard to the beauty and stature of their persons.' They had reason, for it creates respect in those that follow them, and to see a leader, of a brave and goodly stature, march at the head of a battalion, strikes a terror into the enemy.

Ipse inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus,
Vertitur, arma tenens, et toto vertice supra est †.

i. e.

The graceful Turnus, tallest by the head,
 Shaking his arms, himself the van up led.

Our holy and heavenly king, of whom every circumstance is most carefully, and with the greatest religion and reverence to be observed, has not, himself, refused bodily recommendation, ' Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum : ' He † is fairer than the children of men.

And

* Lucret. lib. v. v. 1109.

† Virg. Æneid. lib. vii. v. 783, &c.

† Psal. xlv. v. 2.

And Plato, with temperance and fortitude, requires beauty in the conservators of his republic. It would vex you, that a man should apply himself to you, amongst your servants, to enquire where Monsieur is, and that you should only have the remainder of the compliment of the hat, that is made to your barber, or your secretary; as it happened to poor Philopœmen, who arriving, the first of all his company, at an inn where he was expected, the hostess, who knew him not, and saw him a mean-looking man, employed him to help her maids, a little, to draw water, or make a fire against Philopœmen's coming: The * gentlemen of his train arriving presently after, and surpris'd to see him busy in this fine employment (for he failed not to do as he had been bid) asked him, 'What he was doing there:' 'I am,' said he, 'paying the penalty of my ugliness.' The other beauties belong to the women, but the beauty of stature is the only beauty of the men. Where there is a lowness of stature, neither the largeness and roundness of the forehead, nor fair lovely eyes, nor the moderate size of the nose, nor the littleness of the ears and mouth, nor the evenness and whiteness of the teeth, nor the thickness of a well-set brown beard shining like the hulk of a chesnut, nor curled hair, nor the just proportion of the head, nor a fresh complexion, nor a pleasing air of the face, nor a body without any offensive scent, nor the just proportion of limbs, can make a handsome man.

I am, as to the rest, strong and well knit: My face is not puffed, but full; my complexion betwixt jovial and melancholic, moderately sanguine and hot.

Unde rigent setis mihi crura, et pectora villis †.

Whence 'tis my thighs so rough and bristled are,

And that my breast is so thick set with hair.

My health vigorous and sprightly, even to a well-advanced age, and rarely troubled with sickness: Such I was, I say, for I do not make any reckoning of myself, now that I am engaged in the avenues of old-age, being already past forty:

—*minutatim*

* In the life of Philopœmen, by Plutarch, c. 1.

† Mart. lib. ii. ep. 36. v. 5.

*—minutatim vires, et robor adultum
Frangit, et in partem pejorem liquitur ætas *.*

i. e.

Thence, by degrees, our strength melts all away,
And treach'rous age creeps on, and things decay.
What I shall be from this time forward, will be but a
half being, and no more me; I every day escape and
steal away from myself;

Singula de nobis anni prædantur cunctes †.

i. e.

Every year steals something from us.

Agility and address I never had, and yet am the son
of a very active and sprightly father, who continued to
be so to an extreme old-age: I have seldom known any
man, of his condition, his equal in all bodily exercises;
as I have seldom met with any who have not excelled me,
except in running, at which I was pretty good. In
music or singing, for which I have a very unfit voice, or
to play on any sort of instrument, they could never
teach me any thing. In dancing, tennis, or wrestling,
I could never arrive to more than an ordinary pitch; in
swimming, fencing, vaulting, and leaping, to none at
all. My hands are so benumbed, that I can only write
so as to read it myself; so that I had rather mend what I
have scribbled, than to take the trouble to write it over
fair; and I do not read much better than I write. I can-
not handsomely fold up a letter, nor could ever make a
pen, or carve at table, nor saddle a horse, nor carry a
hawk, and fly her, nor call the dogs, nor speak to birds,
nor horses. In fine, my bodily qualities are very well
suited to those of my soul, there is nothing sprightly, on-
ly a full and firm vigour: I am patient enough of la-
bour and pains, provided I go voluntary to the work,
and only so long as my own desire prompts me to it.

Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem †.

i. e.

Whilst the delight makes you ne'er mind the pain.
Otherwise, if I am not allured with some pleasure, or
have any other guide than my own pure and free incli-
nation, I am therein good for nothing: For I am of a
humour,

* Lucret. lib. ii. v. 1130.

† Hor. lib. ii. ep. 2. v. 65. † Idem, ibid. sat. 2. v. 12.

humour, that, life and health excepted, there is nothing for which I will beat my brains, and that I will purchase at the price of vexation and constraint;

—— *tanti mihi non sit opaci*

Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur Aurum *.

i. e.

Rich Tagus' sands so dear I would not buy,

Nor all the gold that in the sea doth lie.

Being extremely idle, and quite unrestrained, both by nature and art, I would as willingly lend a man my blood as my pains. I have a soul free, and intirely its own, and accustomed to guide itself after its own fashion; and, having hitherto never had either master or governor set over me, I have walked as far as I would, and the pace that best pleased myself: This is it that has rendered me effeminate, and of no use to any but myself.

And, for my part, there was no need of forcing my heavy and lazy disposition; for being born to such a fortune as I had reason to be contented with, (a reason, nevertheless, which a thousand others of my acquaintance would have rather made use of for a plank upon which to pass over to a higher fortune, to tumult and disquiet) I sought for no more, and also got no more:

Non agimur tumidis ventis, aquilone secundo,

Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus austris:

Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,

Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores †.

ii. e.

I am not waisted by the swelling gales

Of winds propitious, with expanded sails;

Nor yet expos'd to tempest-bearing strife,

Adrift to struggle thro' the waves of life:

For health, wit, virtue, honour, wealth, I'm plac'd

Behind the foremost, but before the last.

I wanted but a competency to content me; which, nevertheless is a government of soul, to take it right, equally difficult in all sorts of conditions, and which, by custom, we see more easily found in want than abundance: Forasmuch, peradventure, as, according to the course of our other passions, the desire of riches is more sharpened by the use we make of them; than by the need

we

* Juvenal. sat. iii. v. 54, 55. † Horat. lib. ii. Epist. 2. v. 201.

we have of them; and the virtue of moderation more rare than that of patience. I never had any thing to desire, but quietly to enjoy the estate, that God, by his bounty, had put into my hands: I have never known any work that was troublesome, and have had little to manage besides my own affairs; or, if I have, it has been upon condition to manage them at my own leisure, and after my own method, they having been committed to my trust by such as had a confidence in me, that did not importune me, and that knew me well: For men of experience will get service out of a resty and broken-winded horse.

I was trained up, from a child, after a gentle and free manner, and, even then, exempt from any rigorous subjection: All this has helped me to a complexion delicate and careless, even to such a degree, that I love to have my losses, and the disorders wherein I am concerned, concealed from me: In the account of my expences, I put down what my negligence costs me to feed and maintain it.

——— *hæc nempe supersunt,
Quæ dominum fallunt, quæ profint furibus* *.

i. e.

——— where no superfluous wealth's unknown

† To its rich lord, that thieves may make their own. I do not care to know what I have, that I may be less sensible of my loss: I intreat those that live with me, where affection and good deeds are wanting, to deceive me, and put me off, with something that may look tolerably well. For want of resolution enough to support the shock of the adverse accidents, to which we are subject, and seriously applying myself to the management of my affairs, I indulge this opinion as much as I can, wholly leaving it all to fortune; to take all things at the worst, and to resolve to bear that worst with meekness and patience: That is the only thing I aim at, and to which I apply my whole meditation: In danger, I do not so much consider how I shall escape it, as of how little importance it is whether I escape it, or no; should I
be

* Horat. lib. i. epist. 6. v. 45.

† Here Montaigne diverts Horace's words from their true sense, to adapt them to his own thought.

be left dead upon the place, what matter? Not being to govern events, I govern myself, and apply myself to them, if they do not apply themselves to me. I have no great art to turn off, elcapse from, or to force fortune, and wisely to guide and incline things to my own bias: I have yet less patience to undergo the troublesome and painful care therein required; and the most uneasy condition, for me, is to be kept in suspence on urgent occasions, and to be agitated betwixt hope and fear.

Deliberation, even in things of lightest moment, is very troublesome to me; and I find my mind more put to it to undergo the various tumbling and tossing of doubt and consultation, than to set up its rest, and acquiesce in whatever shall happen after the die is thrown. Few passions break my sleep, but, of deliberations, the least disturbs me. As in the roads I willingly avoid those that are sloping and slippery, and put myself into the beaten track, how dirty or deep soever, where I can fall no lower, and there seek my safety: So I love misfortunes that are purely so, such as do not torment and tease me with the uncertainty of their growing better; but, at the first push, plunge me directly into the worst that can be expected.

*Dubia plus torquent mala **.

i. e.

Doubtful ills do plague us worst.

In events, I carry myself like a man, in the conduct of them, like a child: The fear of the fall more shakes me than the fall itself: It will not quit cost. The covetous man fares worse with his passion than the poor man, and the jealous man than the cuckold; and a person oft-times loses more by defending his vineyard, than if he gave it up. The lowest walk is the safest, 'tis the seat of constancy; you have there need of no one but yourself, 'tis there founded, and wholly stands upon its own basis. Has not this example of a gentleman, very well known, some air of philosophy in it? He married, being well advanced in years, having spent his youth in good-fellowship, a great talker, and a free joker: And calling to mind how much the subject of cuckoldom had given him occasion to talk of, and banter others, in order to prevent

* Senec. Agamemnon. act. iii. sc. 1. v. 29.

vent them from paying him in his own coin, he married a wife from a place where any man may have flesh for his money; 'Good-morrow, whore, good-morrow, cuckold;' and there was not any thing wherewith he more commonly and openly entertained those that came to see him, than with this design of his, by which he stopped the private muttering of mockers, and blunted the edge of this reproach.

As to Ambition, which is neighbour, or rather daughter to Presumption, fortune, to advance me, must have come and taken me by the hand; for to trouble myself for an uncertain hope, and to have submitted myself to all the difficulties that accompany those who endeavour to bring themselves into credit in the beginning of their progress, is what I never could have done.

—— *spem pretio non emo* *.

i. e.

I will not purchase hope with money.

I apply myself to what I see, and to what I have in my hand, and scarce stir out of harbour.

Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas †.

i. e.

Into the sea I plunge one oar,

And with the other rake the shoar.

And, besides, a man rarely arrives to these advancements, but in first hazarding what he has of his own: And I am of opinion, that, if a man have sufficient to maintain him in the condition wherein he was born and bred, 'tis a great folly to hazard that upon the uncertainty of augmenting it. He to whom fortune has denied whereon to set his foot, and a quiet and composed establishment, is to be excused if he does venture what he has, because, happen what will, necessity puts him upon shifting for himself.

Capienda rebus in malis præcepta via est ‡.

i. e.

A desperate case must have a desperate course.

And I rather excuse a younger brother, to expose what his friends have left him to the courtesy of fortune,

* Terent. Adelph. act. ii. sc. 2. v. 11.

† Prop. lib. iii. el. 3. v. 23. ‡ Senec. Agamem. act. ii. v. 47.

than him with whom the honour of his family is intrusted, who cannot be necessitous, but by his own fault. I found a much shorter and more easy way, by the advice of the good friends I had in my younger days, to free myself from any such ambition, and to sit still.

*Cui sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palmæ **.

i. e.

Too happy, in his country seat,

To gain the palm with dust and sweat.

Judging also right enough of my own abilities, that they were not capable of any great matters; and calling to mind the saying of the late chancellor Olivier, ' That the French were like monkies, that climb up a tree, ' from branch to branch, and never stop till they come ' to the highest, and there shew their breech.

Turpe est quod nequeas capiti committere pondus,

Et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu †.

i. e.

It is a shame to load the shoulders so,

That they the burden cannot undergo;

And, the knees bending with the weight, to quit

The pond'rous load, and turn the back to it.

I should find the best qualities, I have, useless in these times: My easy behaviour would have been called weakness and negligence; my faith and conscience, scrupulosity and superstition; my liberty and freedom would have been reputed troublesome, inconsiderate, and rash: ' Ill luck is good for something. It is good to be born in a very depraved age; for so, in comparison of others, you shall be reputed virtuous good cheap. He that, in our days, is but a *paricide*, and a *sacrilegious* person, is an *honest man*, and a *man of honour*.

Nunc si depositum non inficiatur amicus,

Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine sollem,

Prodigiosa fides, et Tusci digna libellis,

Quæque coronata lustrari debeat agna †.

i. e.

Now if a friend does not deny his trust,

But does th' old purse restore with all its rust;

'Tis

* Horat. lib. i. epist. 1. v. 51.

† Propert. lib. iii. el. 9. v. 5, 6.

‡ Juv. sat. xiii. v. 60, &c.

'Tis a prodigious faith, that ought, in gold,
Amongst the Tuscan annals be inroll'd;
And a crown'd lamb should sacrificed be
To such exemplary integrity.

And never was there a time or place wherein princes might expect more certain and greater rewards for their virtue and justice. The first that shall make it his business to get himself into favour and esteem by those ways, I am much deceived, if he do not fairly get the start of his companions. Force and violence can do some things, but not always all: We see merchants, country justices, and artificers, go cheek by jowl, with the best gentry, in valour and military knowledge: they perform honourable actions, both public and private; they fight duels, and defend towns in our present wars. A prince stifles his renown in this croud: Let him shine bright in humanity, truth, loyalty, temperance, and especially in justice; characters rare, unknown, and exiled; 'tis by the sole good-will of the people that he can do his business, and no other qualities can attract their good-will like those, as being of greatest utility to them. * 'Nil est tam popolare quam bonitas:' 'Nothing is so popular as goodness.' By this proportion I had been great and rare, as I find myself now a pigmy, and vulgar in proportion to some past ages; wherein, if other better qualities did not concur, it was common to see a man moderate in his revenges, gentle in resenting injuries, true to his word, neither double nor supple, nor accommodating his faith to the will of others, and the turns of times: I would rather see all affairs go to wreck and ruin, than falsify my faith to secure them.

For, as to this virtue of hypocrisy and dissimulation, which is now in so great request, I mortally hate it; and of all vices, find none that shews so much baseness and meanness of spirit: 'Tis a cowardly and servile humour for a man to hide and disguise himself under a vizor, and not dare to shew himself what he is. By this our followers are trained up to treachery; being brought up to speak what is not true, they make no conscience of a lye: a generous heart ought not to give the lye to its

* Cicero pro Ligario, c. 12.

own thoughts, but will make itself seen within, where all is good, or, at least, humane. Aristotle reputes it 'the office of magnanimity, openly and professedly to love and hate, to judge and speak with all freedom; and not to value the approbation or dislike of others, at the expence of truth.' Apollonius said, 'It was for slaves to lye, and for freemen to speak truth.' 'Tis the chief and fundamental part of virtue; we must love it for its own sake: He that speaks the truth, because he is otherwise obliged so to do, and because he serves; and that is not afraid to lye, when it signifies nothing to any-body; is not sufficiently true. My soul naturally abominates lying, and hates the very thought of it: I have an inward bashfulness, and a smart remorse, if ever a lye escape me, as sometimes it does, being surprised and hurried by occasions that allow me no premeditation. A man must not always tell all, for that were folly; but what a man says should be what he thinks, otherwise 'tis knavery: I do not know what advantage men pretend to by eternally counterfeiting and dissembling, if not, never to be believed, even when they speak the truth. This may, once or twice, pass upon men; but to profess concealing their thoughts, and to boast, as some of our princes have done, 'that they would burn their shirts if they knew their true intentions;' which was a saying of the ancient Metellus of Macedon; and, 'that he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to rule.' This is giving warning to all who have any thing to do with them, that all they say is nothing but lying and deceit. * *Quo quis versutior, et callidior est, hoc invisior et suspectior, detracta opinione probitatis:* 'The more subtil and cunning any one is, the more is he hated and suspected, the opinion of his integrity being lost and gone.' It were a great simplicity in any one to lay any stress either on the countenance or word of a man, that has put on a resolution to be always another thing without than he is within, as Tiberius did; and I cannot conceive, what interest such can have in the conversation with men, seeing they produce nothing that is admitted for truth: Whoever is disloyal to truth, is the same to fallhood also.

Those

* Cic. de offic. lib. ii. c. 9.

Those of our time, who have considered, in the establishment of the duty of a prince, the welfare of his affairs only, and have preferred that to the care of his faith and conscience, might say something to a prince, whose affairs fortune had put into such a posture, that he might for ever establish them by only once breaking his word: But it will not go so; they often come again to the same market, they make more than one peace, and enter into more than one treaty in their lives. Gain tempts them to the first breach of faith, and almost always presents itself, as to all other ill acts: Sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are undertaken for some kind of advantage: But this first gain has infinite mischievous consequences, that throw this prince out of all correspondence and negotiation, by this example of infidelity. Solyman, of the Ottoman race, a race not very solicitous of keeping their promises or articles, when, in my infancy, he made a descent, with his army, at Otranto, being informed that Mercurino de Gratinare and the inhabitants of Castro were detained prisoners, after having surrendered the place, contrary to the articles of their capitulation with his forces, he sent an order to have them set at liberty, saying, ‘ That, having other great enterprises in hand in those parts, this breach of faith, though it carried a shew of present utility, would, for the future, bring on him a disrepute and diffidence of infinite prejudice.’

Now, for my part, I had rather be troublesome and indiscreet, than a flatterer and a dissembler: I confess, that there may be some mixture of pride and obstinacy, in keeping myself so resolute and open as I do, without any regard to others; and, methinks, I am a little too free, where I ought least to be so; and that I grow hot, if I meet not with respect: It may be also, that I suffer myself to follow the propension of my own nature for want of art; when I bring the same liberty of speech and countenance to great persons, that I use at my own house, I am sensible how much it declines towards incivility and indiscretion: But, besides that I am so bred, I have not a wit supple enough to shift off from a sudden question, and to escape by some crafty avoidance: nor to feign a truth, nor memory enough to retain it, so

feigned; nor, truly, assurance enough to maintain it; and, yet, weak as I am, I stand on terms: Therefore it is that I resign myself to pure nature always to speak as I think, both by complexion and design, leaving the event to fortune. * Aristippus was wont to say, 'That the principal benefit he had extracted from philosophy, was, that he spoke freely and openly to all.'

Memory is a faculty of wonderful use, and without which the judgment very hardly performs its office; for my part, I have none at all: What any one will propose to me, he must do it by parcels, for, to answer a speech consisting of several heads, I am not able. I could not receive a commission, without entering it into a book; and when I have a speech, of consequence, to make, if it be long, I am reduced to the vile and miserable necessity of getting, word for word, what I am to say, by heart; I should, otherwise, have neither method, nor assurance, being in fear that my memory would play me a slippery trick: But this way is no less difficult to me than the other: I must have three hours to learn three verses: And, besides, in a work of a man's own, the liberty and authority of altering the order, of changing a word, incessantly varying the matter, makes it harder to stick in the author's memory. The more I mistrust it, the more confused it is; it serves me best by chance; I must negligently solicit it, for, if I strive for it, 'tis astonished; and, after it once begins to stagger, the more I sound it, the more 'tis perplexed and embarrassed; it serves me at its own hour, not at mine.

The same defect I find in my memory I perceive also in several other parts. I can't endure command, obligation, and constraint: That which I can, otherwise, naturally do with ease, if I impose it upon myself by an express and strict injunction, I cannot do it: Even the members of my body, over which a man has a more particular freedom and jurisdiction, sometimes refuse to obey me, if I injoin them a necessary service at a certain hour: This compulsive and tyrannical appointment baffles them; they shrink up either through fear or spite, and are benumbed.

Being

* Laetius in the life of Aristippus, lib. ii. sect. 68.

Being once in a place, where it is looked upon as the greatest rudeness imaginable, not to pledge those that drink to you ; tho' I had there all the freedom allowed me, I tried to play the good-fellow, out of respect to the ladies that were there, according to the custom of the country ; but there was sport enough ; for this threatening and preparation, that I was to force upon myself, contrary to my custom and inclination, did so stop my throat, that I could not swallow one drop, and was deprived of drinking so much as at my meal : I found myself gorged, and my thirst quenched by so much drink as I had swallowed in imagination. This effect is most manifest in such as have the most vehement and powerful imagination : But it is natural notwithstanding, and there is no one that does not, in some measure, find it. An offer was made to an excellent archer, condemned to die, to save his life, if he would shew some notable proof of his art ; but he refused to try, fearing lest the too great contention of his will should make him shoot wide, and that, instead of saving his life, he should also lose the reputation he had got of being a good marksmen. A man that thinks of something else, will not fail to take, over and over again, the same number and measure of steps, even to an inch, in the place where he walks : But, if he makes it his business to measure and count them, he will find, that what he did by nature and accident, he cannot so exactly do by design.

My library, which is of the best sort of country libraries, is situated in a corner of my house ; if any thing comes into my head, that I have a mind to look for, or to write out, lest I should forget it, in but going cross the court, I am forced to commit it to the memory of some other. If I venture, in speaking, to digress never so little from my subject, I am infallibly lost ; which is the reason, that, in discourse, I keep strictly close to my text. I am forced to call the men, that serve me, either by the names of their offices, or their country ; for their own names are very hard for me to remember : I can tell, indeed, that a name has three syllables, that it has a harsh sound, and that it begins or ends with such a letter ; but that's all ; and, if I should live long, I do not think but I should forget my own name, as some others

others have done. Meffala Corvinus was two years without any trace of memory *, which is also said of Georgius Trapezuntius. For my own interest, I often think what a kind of life theirs was, and whether, without this faculty, I should have enough left to support me with any manner of ease; and prying narrowly into it, I fear, that this privation, if absolute, destroys all the other functions of the soul.

Plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo †.

i. e.

I'm as a leaky vessel, that runs out every way. It has befallen me, more than once, to forget the word I had, three hours before, given or received, and the place where I had hid my purse, whatever Cicero is pleased to say to the contrary. I am mighty apt to lose what I have a particular care to lock safe up, 'Memoria
' certe non modo philosophiam, sed omnis vitæ usum,
' omnesque artes, una maxime continet ‡.' 'The memory is the receptacle and sheath of all science;' and therefore mine being so treacherous, if I know little, I cannot much complain: I know, in general, the names of the arts, and of what they treat, but nothing more: I turn over books, I do not study them; what I retain of them I do not know to be another's: 'Tis this only of which my judgment has made its advantage, the discourses and imaginations with which it has been possessed. The author, place, words, and other circumstances, I immediately forget, and am so excellent at forgetting, that I no less forget my own writings and compositions than the rest. At every turn I quote myself, and am not aware of it; and whoever should ask me, where I had the verses and examples that I have here huddled together, would puzzle me to tell him, and yet I have not begged them but from famous and well-known authors, not satisfying myself, that they were rich, if I, moreover, had them not from hands both rich and honourable, where authority and reason concurred together: It is no great wonder, if my book meets with the same fortune that other books do, and if my memory lose

* Plin. nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 24.

æc. i. sc. 2. v. 25.

† Terent. Eunuch.

‡ Cic. de Senectute, c. 7.

lose what I have writ, as well as what I have read, and what I give, as well as what I receive.

Besides the defect of memory, I have others which very much contribute to my ignorance: I have a slow and heavy wit, the least cloud stops its progress, so that, for example, I never proposed a riddle to it, though ever so easy, that it could find out: There is not the least idle subtlety, that will not gravel me: In games, where cunning is required, as cards, chess, draughts, and the like, I understand only the common tricks and movements: I have a slow and perplexed apprehension, but what it once catches, it embraces, and holds thoroughly well, for the time it retains it. My sight is perfect, clear, and discovers at a very great distance, but is soon weary; which makes me that I cannot read long, but am forced to have one to read to me. The younger * Pliny can inform such as have not tried it, what a considerable impediment this is to those who addict themselves to books: There is not so wretched a brute, who has not some particular shining faculty; no soul so buried in sloth and ignorance, but it will sally at one time, or another: And how it comes to pass, that a man, blind and asleep to every thing else, shall be found sprightly, clear, and excellent in some one particular purpose, we are to inquire of our masters.

But the choice spirits are they that are universal, open, and ready for all things; if not instructed, at least capable of being so: This I say to accuse my own; for, whether it be through infirmity or negligence (and to neglect that which lies at our feet, which we have in our hands, and what most nearly concerns the use of life, is far from my doctrine) there is not a soul in the world so awkward and ignorant as mine, of several vulgar

* Montaigne seems here to have had in view the fifth epistle of Pliny, lib. 3. wherein giving an account to a friend of his, how old Pliny, his uncle, spent his time in study; he observes, that, one day, as his uncle was reading a book to his friend, and the latter stopping him, to desire him to repeat certain words, which he had mispronounced, his uncle said to him, 'What! did not you understand the meaning?' 'Undoubtedly,' said his friend. 'And why then, said he, did you stop the reader? We have lost above ten lines by your interruption.' So great a husband was he of his time.

gar things, and things of which 'tis even a shame to be ignorant.

I must give some examples of this : I was born and bred in the country, and amongst husbandmen ; I have had business and husbandry in my own hands, ever since my predecessors, who were lords of the estate I now enjoy, left me to succeed them ; and yet I can't cast up a sum, either by pen or counters : I do not know most of our coins, nor the difference betwixt one grain and another, either growing, or in the barn, if it be not too apparent ; and scarcely can distinguish the cabbage and lettuce in my garden : I do no not so much as understand the names of the chief instruments of husbandry, nor the most ordinary elements of agriculture, which the very children know ; much less the mechanic arts, traffic, merchandise, the variety and nature of fruits, wines, and meats ; nor how to make a hawk fly, nor to physic a horse, or a dog. And, since I must publish my whole shame, 'tis not above a month ago, that I was trapped in my ignorance of the use of leaven to make bread, or to what end it was to keep wine in the vat. They conjectured, of old, at Athens *, that a man, whom they saw dexterously make a faggot of brush-wood, had a genius for the mathematics. In earnest, they would draw a quite contrary conclusion from me ; for, give me all the necessaries of a kitchen, I should starve. By these features of my confession, men may imagine others to my prejudice : But whatever I deliver myself to be, provided it be such as I really am, I have my end ; neither will I make any excuse for committing such mean and frivolous things as these to paper : The meanness of the subject compels me to it. They may, if they please, accuse my project, but not my progress. So it is, that, without any-body's telling me, I plainly see of how little weight

* If Montaigne quoted this from his memory, as is highly probable, he was mistaken in fixing the fact at Athens ; for, according to Diogenes Laertius, lib. ix. sect. 53, it was Protagoras, of Abdera, who being observed by Democritus to be very ingenious at making faggots, he thought him capable of attaining to the sublimest sciences, and took care therein to instruct him. From hence 'tis very likely, that this was not at Athens, but at Abdera, which was the country both of Protagoras and Democritus ; and Aulus Gellius expressly says so, lib. v. c. 3.

weight and value all this is, and the folly of my design. 'Tis enough that my judgment does not contradict itself, in these my essays.

*Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus,
Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas;
Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latinum,
Non potes in nugas dicere plura meas,
Ipse ego quam dixi: Quid dentem dente juvabit
Rodere? Carne opus est, si satur esse velis:
Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos
Virus habe, nos hæc novimus esse nihil*.*

i. e.

Be nos'd, be all nose, till thy nose appear
So great, that Atlas it refuse to bear;
Though ev'n against Latinus thou inveigh,
Against my trifles thou no more canst say
Than I have said myself: Then to what end
Should we to render tooth for tooth contend?
You must have flesh, if you'll be full, my friend,
Lose not thy labour; but on those that do
Admire themselves thy utmost venom throw;
That these things nothing are, full well we know.

I am not obliged to utter no absurdities, provided I am not deceived in them, and know them to be such; and to trip knowingly is so ordinary with me, that I seldom do it otherwise, and rarely trip by chance: 'Tis no great matter to add ridiculous actions to the temerity of my humour, since I cannot ordinarily help supplying it with those that are vicious.

I was one day at Barleduc, when King Francis the second, for a memorial of Rene, King of Sicily, was presented with a picture he had drawn of himself. Why is it not, in like manner, lawful for every one to draw himself with a pen, as he did with a crayon? I will not therefore omit this blemish, though very unfit to be published, which is irresolution; a defect very detrimental in the negociations of the affairs of the world: In doubtful enterprises, I know not what to resolve on.

Ne si, ne no, nel cor mi suona intero.

i. e.

I can't, from my heart, pronounce yes, or no.

I

I can maintain an opinion, but I cannot chuse one, by reason, that, in human things, to what party soever a man inclines, many appearances present themselves, that confirm us in it ; and the philosopher * Chrysippus said, ' That he would only learn the doctrines of Zeno and Cleanthes, his masters ; for as to proofs and reasons, he should find enough of his own : ' Which way soever I turn, I still furnish myself with cause, and probability, enough to fix me there ; which makes me detain doubt, and the liberty of chusing, till occasion presses me ; and then, to confess the truth, I, for the most part, throw the feather into the wind, as the saying is, and commit myself to the mercy of fortune ; a very light inclination and circumstance carries me along with it.

Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc atque illuc impellitur †

i. e.

While he is divided in his mind, a little matter will turn him one way, or t'other.

The uncertainty of my judgment is so equally balanced in most occurrences, that I could willingly refer it to be decided by lot, or the turn of a die : And I observe, with great consideration of our human infirmity, the examples that the divine history itself has left us of this custom of referring the determination of elections, in doubtful things to fortune and chance. ' Sors cecidit super Matthiam : ' ' The † lot fell upon Matthias.' Human reason is a two-edged and a dangerous sword : Observe, in the hand of Socrates, its most intimate and familiar friend, how many several points it has. I am also good for nothing but to follow, and suffer myself to be easily carried away with the croud : I have not confidence enough in my own strength to take upon me to command and lead : I am very glad to find the way beaten before me by others : If I must run the hazard of an uncertain choice, I am rather willing to have it under such a one as is more confident in his opinions than I am in mine, whose ground and foundation I find to be very slippery.

And

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 179.

† Terent. Andr. act. i. sc. 6. v. 32.

‡ Acts, chap. i. ver. 26.

And yet I do not easily change, by reason that I discern the same weakness in contrary opinions. ‘*Ipsa consuetudo assentiendi periculosa esse videtur, et lubrica **.’ ‘The very custom of assenting seems to be dangerous and slippery.’ Especially in political affairs, there is a large field open for wavering and dispute.

*Iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,
Prona nec hac plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa †.*

i. e.

Like a just balance press’d with equal weight,
Nor dips, nor rises, but the beam is straight.
Machiavel’s writings, for example, were solid enough for the subject, yet were they easy enough to be controverted; and they who have taken up the cudgels against him, have left it as easy to controvert theirs. There were never wanting, in that kind of argument, replies upon replies, rejoinders sur rejoinders, and that infinite contexture of debates, which our wrangling pettifoggers have spun out in favour of law-suits.

Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem ‡.

i. e.

By turns the foe beats us, and we the foe,
Dealing to each, alternate, blow for blow.
Reasons having little other foundation therein than experience, and the variety of human events presenting us with infinite examples of all sorts of forms. An understanding person, of our times, says, ‘That whoever would, in contradiction to our almanacks, write cold, where they say hot, and wet where they say dry, and always put the contrary to what they foretel; if he were to lay a wager on the events, he would not care which side he took, excepting things wherein no uncertainty could fall out; as to promise excessive heats at Christmas, or extremity of cold at Midsummer, which cannot possibly be.’ I have the same opinion of these political controversies; be on which side you will, you have as fair a game to play as your adversary, provided you do not proceed so far as to jostle principles that are too manifest to be disputed: And yet, in my

* Cic. Acad. lib. iv. c. 21.

† Tibullus, lib. iv. Panegy. ad Messalam, v. 41, 42.

‡ Hor. lib. ii. epist. 2. v. 97.

conceit, in public affairs, there is no management so ill, provided it be ancient, and has been constant, that is not better than change and motion. Our manners are extremely corrupted, and wonderfully incline to the worse: Of our laws and customs, there are many that are barbarous and monstrous: Nevertheless, by reason of the difficulty of reformation, and the danger of stirring things, if I could put a peg to the wheel, and keep it where it is, I would do it with all my heart.

— *Nunquam adeo fœdis adeoque pudendis
Utimur exemplis, ut non pejora supersint* *.

i. e.

As bad as are the instances we give, 'tis plain,

Others might be produc'd of fouler stain.

The worst thing I find in our state, is the instability of it; and that our laws, no more than our cloaths, cannot settle in any certain form. It is very easy to accuse a government of imperfection, for all mortal things are full of it: It is very easy to beget in a people a contempt of ancient observances; never any man undertook it, but he did it; but to establish a better regimen in the stead of that which a man has overthrown, many who have attempted it, have been baffled. I very little consult my prudence in my conduct; I am willing to be guided by the public rule: Happy people, who do what they are commanded better than they who command, without tormenting themselves with the causes; who suffer themselves gently to roll with the celestial revolution; obedience is never pure nor calm in him who argues and disputes.

In fine, to return to myself, the only thing by which I esteem myself to be something, is, that wherein never any man thought himself to be defective; my recommendation is vulgar and common, for whoever supposed he wanted sense? It would be a proposition that would imply a contradiction in itself; 'tis a disease that never is where it is discerned; 'tis tenacious and strong, but a disease which the first ray of the patient's sight does, nevertheless, pierce through, and disperse, as the beams of the sun do thick mists. To accuse one's self would be to excuse, in this case; and to condemn, to absolve.

There

There never was a porter, or the silliest wench, that did not think they had sense enough to do their business. We easily enough confess an advantage of courage, strength, experience, good-nature, and beauty in others; but an advantage in judgment we yield to none, and the reasons that simply proceed from the natural sense of others, we think, if we had but turned our thoughts that way, we should ourselves have found them out. As for knowledge, stile, and such parts as we see in others works, we are soon sensible if they excel our own; but, for the mere products of the understanding, every one thinks he could have found out the like, and is hardly sensible of the weight and difficulty, if not (and then with much ado) in an extreme and incomparable distance: And whoever should be able clearly to discern the height of another's judgment, would be also able to raise his own to the same pitch: So that it is a sort of exercise, from which a man is to expect very little praise, and a kind of composition of small repute: And, besides, for whom do you write? The learned, to whom the authority appertains of judging books, know nothing valuable but learning, and allow of no other progress in our minds but that of erudition and art. If you have mistaken one of the Scipio's for another, what is all the rest you have to say worth? Whoever is ignorant of Aristotle, according to their rule, is, in the same measure, ignorant of himself: Heavy and vulgar souls cannot discern the grace of refined reasoning: Now, these two sorts of men take up the world: The third sort, into whose hands you fall, of souls that are regular and strong of themselves, is so rare, that it justly has neither name nor place amongst us; and 'tis so much time lost to aspire to it, or to endeavour to please it.

'Tis commonly said, that the justest dividend nature has given us of her favours, is that of sense, for there is no one that is not contented with his share: Is it not for this reason? Whoever should discern beyond that, would see beyond his sight. I think my opinions are good and sound; but who does not think the same of his? One of the best proofs I have that mine are so, is the small esteem I have of myself; for, had they not been very well settled, they would easily have suffered themselves to

have been deceived by the peculiar affection I bear to myself, as one that reduces it almost wholly to myself, and lets scarce any run by. All that others distribute of it amongst an infinite number of friends and acquaintance, to their glory and grandeur, I dedicate wholly to the repose of my own mind, and to myself. That which escapes of it from me, is not properly by the rule of my reason.

Mibi nempe valere, et vivere doctus.*

i. e.

To love myself I very well can tell,
So as to live content, and to be well.

Now I find my opinions very bold and constant, in condemning my own imperfection; and, to say the truth, 'tis a subject upon which I exercise my judgment, as much as upon any other. The world looks always opposite; I turn my sight inwards, there fix and employ it: Every one looks before him, I look into myself; I have no other business but myself; I am eternally meditating upon myself, controul and taste myself: other men's thoughts are ever wandering abroad; if they set themselves to serious thinking, they are always looking before them.

Nemo in sese tentat descendere †.

i. e.

No man attempts to dive into himself.

For my part, I wheel myself in my own sphere: And this capacity of trying the truth, whatever it be, in me, and this free humour of not easily subjecting my belief, I owe principally to myself; for the strongest and most general imaginations I have, are those, that, as a man may say, were born with me; they are natural, and entirely my own: I produced them crude and simple in a strong and bold manner, but a little confused and imperfect; I have since established and fortified them with the authority of others, and by the sound examples of the ancients, whom I have found of the same judgment: They have given me faster hold, and a clearer enjoyment and possession of it; the reputation that every one courts of vivacity and readiness of wit, I aim at from regularity; the glory they pretend to from a brave and
signal

* Lucret. lib. v. v. 959.

† Pers. sat. iv. v. 23.

signal action, or some particular ability, I claim from order, correspondence, and tranquillity of opinions and manners. * “ *Omnino si quidquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam æquabilitas universæ vitæ, tum singularum actionum; quam conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans, omittas tuam:* ” ‘ If any thing be intirely decent, nothing certainly can be more, than a uniformity of the whole life, and in every particular action of it; which thou canst not possibly preserve, if, in imitating other men’s, thou neglectest to cultivate thy own genius.’ Here then you see to what degree I find myself guilty of this, which I said was the first part of the vice of presumption.

As to the second, which consists in not having a sufficient esteem for others; I know not whether I can so well excuse myself; but, whatever comes on’t, I am resolved to speak the truth: And whether, peradventure, it be, that the continual acquaintance I have had with the humours of the ancients, and the idea of those great souls of past ages, disgusted me, both with others and myself; or that, in truth, the age we live in produces but very indifferent things; yet so it is, that I see nothing worthy of any great admiration; neither, indeed, have I such an intimacy with many men, as is requisite to form a judgment of them; and those with whom my condition makes me the most frequent, are, for the most part, men that take little care of the culture of the mind, but look upon honour as the sum of all blessings, and valour as the height of all perfection.

What I see that is handsome in others, I very readily commend and esteem; nay, I often say more in their commendation, than, I think, they really deserve, and give myself so far leave to lye; for I cannot invent a false subject. My testimony is never wanting to my friends, in what I conceive deserves praise; and where a foot is due to them, in point of merit, I am willing to give them a foot and a half; but to attribute to them qualities that they have not, I cannot do it, nor openly defend their imperfections: Nay, I frankly give my very enemies their due testimony of honour: My affection

* Cic. offic. lib. i. c. 31.

alters, my judgment does not; I never confound my controversy with other circumstances that are foreign to it; and am so jealous of the liberty of my judgment, that I can very hardly part with it for any passion whatever: I do myself a greater injury in lying, than I do him of whom I tell a lye. This commendable and generous custom is observed of the Persian nation, 'That they spoke of their mortal enemies, and with whom they were at deadly wars, as honourably and justly as their virtues did deserve.' I know men enough that have several fine parts; one wit, another courage, another address, another conscience, another language, one, one science, another another; but a man generally great, and that has all these brave parts together, or any one of them, to such a degree of excellence, that we should admire him, or compare him with those we honour of times past, my fortune never brought me acquainted with; the greatest I ever knew, I mean, for the natural parts of the soul, and the best-natured man living, was Stephen Boetius; his was a capacious soul indeed, and that had every way a beautiful aspect; a soul of the old stamp, and that would have produced great deeds, had fortune been so pleased, as he had added much to those great natural parts by learning and study.

But how it comes to pass I know not, and yet it is certainly so, there is as much vanity and weakness of judgment in those who profess the greatest abilities, who take upon them learned callings, and bookish employments, as in any other sort of men whatever; either because more is required and expected from them, and that common defects are inexcusable in them; or, truly, because the opinion they have of their own learning makes them more bold to expose and lay themselves too open, by which they lose and betray themselves. As an artificer more betrays his want of skill in a rich work that he has in his hand, if he disgrace it by ill handling, and contrary to the rules required, than in a mean subject; and men are more displeased at a fault in a statue of gold, than in one of alabaster; so do these, when they exhibit things that, in themselves, and in their place, would be good: For they make use of them without discretion, honouring

nourishing their memories at the expence of their understanding, and making themselves ridiculous, to honour Cicero, Galen, Ulpian, and St. Jerome.

I willingly fall again into the discourse of the folly of our education; the end of which has been not to render us good and wise, but learned, and it has obtained it: It has not taught us to follow and embrace virtue and prudence, but has imprinted in us the derivation and etymology of those words: We know how to decline virtue, yet we know not how to love it: If we do not know what prudence is in effect, and by experience, we have it, however, by jargon and by heart. We are not content to know the extraction, kindred, and alliances of our neighbours; we desire, moreover, to have them our friends, and to establish a correspondence and intelligence with them: This education of ours has taught us definitions, divisions, and partitions of virtue, as so many surnames and branches of genealogy, without any farther care of establishing any familiarity or intimacy betwixt it and us. Our education has culled out, for our initiary instruction, not such books as contain the soundest and truest opinions, but those that speak the best Greek and Latin; and by their florid words has instilled into our fancy the vainest humours of antiquity.

A good education alters the judgment and manners; as it happened to Polemon, a young debauched Greek, who going, by chance, to hear one of Xenocrates's lectures, did not only observe the eloquence and learning of the reader, and not only brought home the knowledge of some fine matter; but he gained a more manifest and solid profit, which was the sudden change and reformation of his former life. Whoever found such an effect of our discipline?

———*faciásne quod olim*

*Mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpisse coronas,
Postquam est impransu correptus voce Magistri *?*

Thus rendered by Mr. CREECH.

Canst thou, like Polemon reclaim'd, remove
Thy foppish dress, those symptoms of thy love;

As

* Hor. lib. ii. sat. 3. v. 253, &c.

As he when drunk, with garlands round his head,
 Chanc'd once to hear the sober Stoic read;
 Asham'd, he took his garlands off, began
 Another course, and grew a sober man?

That seems to me to be the least contemptible condition of men, which, by its simplicity, is seated in the lowest degree, and invites us to a more regular conduct. I find the manners and language of the country people commonly better suited to the prescription of true philosophy, than those of our philosophers themselves. ‘* Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit.’ The vulgar are so much the wiser, because they only know what is needful for them to know.

The most remarkable men, as I have judged by outward appearances (for, to judge of them according to my own method, I must penetrate into them a great deal deeper) for war and military conduct, were the duke of Guise, who died at Orleans, and the late marshal Strozzy.

For gownsmen of great ability, and no common virtue, Olivier and De l'Hospital, chancellors of France.

Poetry too, in my opinion, has flourished in this age of ours. We have abundance of very good artists in this class, Aurat, Beze, Buchanan, l'Hospital, Montdore, and Turnebus.

As to the French poets, I believe they have raised it to the highest pitch to which it will ever arrive; and, in those parts of it wherein Ronfard and Du Bellay excel, I find them little inferior to the ancient perfection.

Adrian Turnebus knew more, and what he did know, better than any man of his time, or long before him.

The lives of the last duke of Alva, and of our constant De Montmorency, were both of them noble, and had many rare resemblances of fortune; but the beauty and the glory of the death of the last, in the sight of Paris, and of his king, in their service, against his nearest relations, at the head of an army, through his conduct, victorious, and with sword in hand, at so extreme an old-age, merits, methinks, to be recorded amongst the most remarkable events of our times: As also the constant goodness, sweetness of behaviour, and conscientious

* Lactant. institut. lib. iv.

tious facility of monsieur De la Noue, in so great an injustice of armed parties, (the true school of treason, inhumanity, and robbery) wherein he always kept up the reputation of a great and experienced captain.

I have taken a delight to publish, in several places, the hopes I have of Mary de Gournay le Jars, my adopted * daughter, and certainly beloved by me with more than a paternal love, and involved in my solitude and retirement, as one of the best parts of my own being. I have no regard to any thing in this world but her; and, if a man may presage from her youth, her soul will, one day, be capable of the noblest things; and, amongst others, of the perfection of the sacred friendship, to which we do not read that any of her sex could ever yet arrive; the sincerity and solidity of her manners are already sufficient for it; her affection towards me is more than superabundant, and such, in short, as that there is nothing more to be wished, if not that the apprehension she has of my end, being now five and fifty years old, might not so cruelly afflict her. The judgment she made of my first essays, being a woman so young, and in this age, and alone in her own country, and the famous vehemency wherewith she loved, and desired me upon the sole esteem she had of me, before she ever saw me, is an accident very worthy of consideration.

Other virtues have had little or no credit in this age, but valour is become popular by our civil wars; and in this

* As to the meaning of these words, 'adopted daughter,' see the article Gournay in Bayle's dictionary; where you will find, that this young lady's opinion of the first essays of Montaigne gave the occasion for this adoption, long before she ever saw Montaigne. But here I can't help transcribing part of a passage, which Mr. Bayle quoted from M. Pasquier, in the note A, which contains some remarkable particulars of this sort of adoption. 'Montaigne,' says Pasquier, having, in 1588, made a long stay at Paris, Mademoiselle de Jars came thither, on purpose to see his person; and she and her mother carried him to their house at Gournay, where he spent two months in two or three journeys, and met with as hearty a welcome as he could desire; and, finally, that this virtuous lady, being informed of Montaigne's death, crossed almost thro' the whole kingdom of France, with passports, as well from her own motive, as by invitation from Montaigne's widow and daughter, to mix her tears with theirs, whose sorrows were boundless.'

this respect we have souls brave, even to perfection, and in so great number, that the choice is impossible to be made. This is all of extraordinary, and not common, that has hitherto arrived at my knowledge.

CHAP. XVIII. *Of giving the LY E.*

WELL, but some one will say to me, 'This design of making a man's self the subject of his writing were excusable in rare and famous men, who, by their reputation, had given others a curiosity to be fully informed of them.' It is most true, I confess it, and know very well, that artificers will scarce lift their eyes from their work to look at an ordinary man, when they will forsake their workhouses and shops to stare at an eminent person, when he comes to town: It misbecomes any person to give his own character, except he has qualities worthy of imitation, and whose life and opinions may serve for a model. The great actions of Cæsar and Xenophon were a just and solid basis on which to fix and found their narratives: And it were also to be wished, that we had the journals of Alexander the Great, and the commentaries that Augustus, Cato, Sylla, Brutus, and others have left of their actions. We love and contemplate the very statues of such personages, both in copper and marble. This remonstrance is very true, but it very little concerns me.

* *Non recito cuiquam, nisi amicis, idque rogatus † ;
Non ubivis, coramve quibuscumlibet : In medio qui
Scripta foro recitant, sunt multi, quique lavantes.*

i. e.

I seldom do rehearse, and when I do
'Tis to my friends, and with reluctance too,
Not before every one, and every-where ;
We have too many that rehearsers are,
In baths, the forum, and the public square.
I do not here form a statue to erect in the centre of a
city, in the church, or any public quadrangle.

Non equidem hoc studeo, bullatis ut mihi nugis

Pagina

* Hor. lib. i. sat. 4. v. 73, &c.

† Instead of coactus, as Horace has it in the first verse, Montaigne has substituted rogatus, which more exactly expresses his thought.

*Pagina turgescat :**Secreti loquimur *.*

i. e.

With pompous trash to swell the frothy line

Is not, indeed, my friend! what I design :

Whatever be the secrets I indite,

To you I trust, to you alone I write.

'Tis for some corner of a library, or to entertain a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend, that has a mind to renew his acquaintance and familiarity with me in this my picture. Others have been encouraged to speak of themselves, because they found the subject worthy and rich ; I, on the contrary, am the bolder, by reason my subject is so poor and sterile, that I cannot be suspected of ostentation. I judge freely of the actions of others ; I give little of my own to judge of, because of their nothingness : I am not so conscious of any good in myself, as to tell it without blushing. What contentment would it be to me to hear any thus relate to me the manners, faces, countenances, the ordinary words and fortunes of my ancestors ? How attentively should I listen to it ! In truth, it would be ill-nature to despise even the pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their cloaths, and of their arms. I preserve my father's writings, his seal, and one particular sword of his, and have not thrown the long staves he used to carry in his hand, out of my closet. ' Paterna vestis, et annulus, ' tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga parentes major ' affectus†.' ' A father's robe and ring are so much the ' dearer to his posterity, in proportion to the affection ' they retain for him.' If my posterity, nevertheless, shall be of another mind, I shall be even with them ; for they cannot care less for me, than I shall then do for them. All the traffic that I have, in this, with the public, is, that I borrow their writing tackle, as it is more easy, and at hand ; and, in recompence, shall, peradventure, keep a dish of butter from melting in the market.

† *Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis,
Et laxas scombris sæpe dabo tunicas §.*

i. e.

* Pers. sat. v. 19.

† Aug. de civitate dei, lib. i. c. 13.

‡ Mart. lib. xiii. ep. 1. v. 1.

§ Catullus, ep. 92. v. 8.

i. e.

I'll furnish plaife and olives with a coat,
And cover mack'rel when the sun shines hot.

And though no-body should read me, have I lost my time in entertaining myself so many idle hours, in thoughts so pleasing and useful? In moulding this figure upon myself, I have been so oft constrained to curry and turn myself as it were, inside out, that the copy is truly taken, and has, in some sort, formed itself. But, as I paint for others, I represent myself in more exquisite colouring than in my own natural complexion. I am as much formed by my book, as my book is by me: 'Tis a book consubstantial with the author; of a peculiar tenor; a member of my life, and whose business is not designed for others, as that of all other books is. In giving so continual, and so curious an account of myself, have I lost any time? For he who sometimes cursorily surveys himself only, doth not so strictly examine himself, nor penetrate so deep, as he who makes it his business, his study, and his whole employment; who intends to give a lasting record, with all his fidelity, and with all his force. The most delicious pleasures, however digested internally, avoid leaving any trace of themselves, and shun the sight not only of the people, but of any other man. How oft has this affair diverted me from uneasy thoughts? And all that are frivolous should be reputed so. Nature has presented us with a large faculty of entertaining ourselves apart; and oft calls us to it, to teach us, that we owe ourselves, in part, to society, but chiefly to ourselves. In order to habituate my fancy, even to meditate in some method, and to some end, and to keep it from losing itself, and roving at random, 'tis but to give it a body, and to register all the pretty thoughts that present themselves to it. I give ear to my whimsies, because I am to record them. How oft has it fallen out, that, being displeased at some actions which civility and reason did not permit me openly to reprove, I have here disgorged myself of them, not without design of public instruction: And yet these poetical lashes,

*Zon des sur l'œil, zon sur le groin,
Zon sur le dos du Sagoin*.*

i. e.

A jerk over the eye, over the snout,

Let Sagoin be jerk'd throughout.

imprint themselves better upon paper, than upon the most sensible flesh. What if I listen to books a little more attentively than ordinary, since I watch if I can purloin any thing that may adorn or support my own? I have not at all studied to make a book; but I have, in some sort, studied because I had made it, if it be studying, to scratch and pinch, now one author, and then another, either by the head or foot; not with any design to steal opinions from them, but to assist, second, and to fortify those I had before embraced.

But who shall we believe in the report he makes of himself, in so corrupt an age? Considering there are so few, if any at all, whom we can believe, when speaking of others, where there is less interest to lye. The first step to the corruption of manners is banishing of truth; for, as Pindar says, 'To be sincerely true is the beginning of a great virtue,' and the first article that Plato requires in the government of his republic. The truth of these days is not that which really is such, but what every man persuades himself, or another to believe; as we generally give the name of money, not only to lawful coin, but to the counterfeit also, if it be current. Our nation has long been reproached with this vice; for Salvianus Massiliensis, who lived in the time of the emperor Valentinian, says, 'That lying and perjury is not a vice with the French, but a way of speaking.' He that would inance upon this testimony, might say, 'That it is now a virtue with them.' Men form and fashion themselves to it, as to an exercise of honour; for dissimulation is one of the most notable qualities of this age.

I have often considered whence comes this custom, that we so religiously observe, of being more highly offended with the reproach of a vice so familiar to us than with any other, and that it should be the highest injury that can, in words, be done us, to reproach us with a lye: Upon examination, I find, that it is natural to dis-

* Marot contre Sagoin.

claim those faults most, with which we are most tainted: It seems as if, by resenting, and being moved at the accusation, we, in some sort, acquitted ourselves of the fault; if we are guilty of it in fact, we condemn it, at least, in appearance: May it also not be, that this reproach seems to imply cowardice, and meanness of spirit? Of which can there be a more manifest sign, than for a man to eat his own words? What, to lye against a man's own knowledge: Lying is a base vice; a vice that one of the ancients paints in the most odious colours, when he says, 'That it is to manifest a contempt of God, and withal a fear of man.' It is not possible more copiously to represent the horror, baseness, and irregularity of it; for, what can be imagined more vile, than a man, who is a coward towards man, so courageous as to defy his maker? Our intelligence being by no other canal to be conveyed to one another but by words, he who falsifies them betrays public society: 'Tis the only tube through which we communicate our thoughts and wills to another; 'tis the interpreter of the soul, and, if it fails us, we no longer know, nor have any farther tie upon one another: If that deceive us, it breaks all our correspondence, and dissolves all the bands of our government. Certain nations of the new-discovered Indies (no matter for naming them, since they are no more; for, by a wonderful and unheard-of example, the desolation of that conquest extended to the utter abolition of names, and the ancient knowledge of places) offered to their Gods human blood, 'but only such as was drawn from the tongue and ears, to atone for the sin of lying, as well heard as pronounced.' The good fellow of Greece * was wont to say, 'That children were amused with rattles, and men with words.'

As to the various usages of our giving the lye, and the laws of honour in that case, and the alterations they have received, I shall defer saying what I know of them to another time, and shall learn, if I can, in the mean while, at what time the custom took beginning, of so exactly weighing and measuring words, and of engaging our honour to them; for it is easy to judge, that it was not anciently amongst the Greeks and Romans; and
I have

* Lyfander, in Plutarch's life of him, c. 4.

I have often thought it strange to see them rail at, and give one another the lye, without any farther quarrel: The laws of their duty steered some other course than ours. Cæsar is sometimes called thief, and sometimes drunkard, to his teeth. We see the liberty of invectives, which they practised upon one another, I mean the greatest chiefs of war of both nations, where words were only revenged with words, without any other consequence.

C H A P. XIX. *Of Liberty of CONSCIENCE.*

TIS usual to see good intentions, if pursued without moderation, push men on to very vicious effects. In this dispute, which has now engaged France in a civil war, the best and the soundest cause, no doubt, is that which maintains the ancient religion and government of the kingdom. Nevertheless, amongst the good men of that party (for I do not speak of those that make a pretence of it, either to execute their own particular revenge, or to gratify their avarice, or to court the favour of princes; but of those who engage in the quarrel out of true zeal to religion, and a pious affection to maintain the peace and government of their country) of these, I say, we see many whom passion transports beyond the bounds of reason, and sometimes inspires with counsels that are unjust and violent, and also rash.

It is true, that in those primitive times, when our religion began to gain authority with the laws, zeal armed many against all sorts of Pagan books, by which the learned suffered an exceeding great loss; which, I conceive, did more prejudice to letters, than all the flames kindled by the Barbarians. Of this Cornelius Tacitus is a very good witness; for though the emperor Tacitus, his kinsman, had, by express order, furnished all the libraries in the world with his book, nevertheless, one intire copy could not escape the curious search of those who desired to abolish it, for only five or six idle clauses in it, that were contrary to our belief.

They were also very ready to lend undue praises to all the emperors who did any thing for us, and universally to condemn all the actions of those who were our

adversaries, as is evidently manifest in the emperors Julian, surnamed the Apostate; who was, in truth, a very great and rare man, a man in whose soul that philosophy was imprinted in lively characters, by which he professed to govern all his actions; and, in truth, there is no sort of virtue, of which he has not left behind him very notable examples. In chastity (of which the whole course of his life has given manifest proof) we read the like of him, as was said of Alexander and Scipio *, that, being in the flower of his age (for he was slain by the Parthians at one and thirty) of a great many very beautiful captives, he would not touch, nor so much as look upon one. As to his justice †, he took himself the pains to hear the parties; and although he would, out of curiosity, enquire what religion they were of, nevertheless the hatred he had to ours, never turned the ballance. He made several good laws, and cut off a great part of the subsidies and taxes levied by his predecessors ‡.

We have two good historians, who were eye-witnesses of his actions; one of whom, Marcellinus, in several places of his history, sharply reproves an edict of his, whereby ' he interdicted all Christian rhetoricians and grammarians to keep school, or to teach; and says, ' he could wish that act of his had been buried in silence ||.' It is very likely, that, had he done any more severe things against us, the historian, who was so affectionate to our party, would not have passed it over in silence.

He was, indeed, sharp against us, but yet no cruel enemy: For our own people tell this story of him, ' That, one day, walking about the city of Chalcedon, ' Maris, bishop of that place, called out to him, and ' told him that he was an Atheist, and an Apostate: ' To which he only answered, ' Go, wretch, and lament ' the loss of thy eyes: ' To this the bishop replied again, ' I thank Jesus Christ for taking away my sight, that I ' might not see thy impudent face §.' So it is, that this
action

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxiv. c. 8.

† Idem, *ibid.* lib. xxii. c. 10.

‡ Idem, lib. xxv. c. 5, 6.

|| Idem, lib. xxii. c. 10.

§ Sozomen's ecclesiastical history, lib. v. c. 4.

action of his favours nothing of the cruelty that he is said to have exercised towards us; though they say, that his answer to the bishop was but an affectation of philosophic patience. 'He was (says Eutropius *, my other witness) 'an enemy to Christianity, but without shedding 'blood.' And, to return to his justice, there is nothing in that whereof he can be accused, but the severity he practised in the beginning of his reign, against those who had followed the party of Constantius, his predecessor †.

As to his sobriety he lived always a soldier's kind of life; and kept a table, in times of the most profound peace, like one that prepared and inured himself to the rigours of war ‡.

His vigilance was such, that he divided the night into three or four parts, of which the least was dedicated to sleep; the rest was spent either in visiting the estate of his army and guards in person, or in study; for, amongst other rare qualities, he was very excellent in all sorts of literature. 'Tis said of Alexander the Great, 'That, 'when he was in bed, for fear lest sleep should divert him 'from his thoughts and studies, he had always a basin 'set by his bed-side, and one of his hands out with a 'bullet of copper in it, to the end, that, if he fell asleep, 'and his fingers left their hold, the bullet, by falling 'into the basin, might awake him ||.' But this Julian was so bent upon what he had a mind to do, and so little disturbed with fumes, by reason of his singular abstinence, that he had no need of any such invention.

As to his military experience, he was admirable in all the qualities of a great captain, as it was likely he should, having been, almost all his life, in a continual exercise of war, and most of that time with us in France, against the Germans and Franconians: We hardly read of any man that ever encountered more dangers, or that gave more frequent proofs of his personal valour.

His death has something in it like that of Epaminondas; for he was wounded with an arrow, which he tried

H 3

had

* Eutrop. lib. x. c. 8.

† Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 2.

‡ Idem, lib. xvi. c. 2. et xxvi. c. 5.

|| Idem, lib. xvi. c. 2.

had tried to pull out, and had done it, but that, being two-edged, it cut the sinews of his hand. He called out forthwith 'That they would carry him, in this condition, into 'the midst of the battle to encourage his soldiers,' who very bravely disputed the battle without him, till night parted the armies *. He was obliged to his philosophy for the singular contempt he had for his life, and all human things; and he had a firm belief of the immortality of the soul.

In matters of religion, he was vicious throughout, and was surnamed the Apostate, for having relinquished ours: Though, methinks, 'tis more likely, that he had never thoroughly embraced it, but had dissembled out of obedience to the laws, till he came to the empire.

He was, in his own, so superstitious, that he was laughed at for it, by those of the same opinion of his own time, who said, 'That, had he got the victory over the Parthians, he had destroyed the breed of oxen 'in the world to supply his sacrifices †.' He was, moreover, a bigot to the art of divination, and gave authority to all sorts of predictions. He said, amongst other things, at his death, 'That ‡ he was obliged to the Gods, 'and thanked them, in that they had not been pleased to cut him off by surprise, having, long before, 'advertised him of the place and hour of his death; 'nor by a mean and unmanly death, more becoming lazy and delicate people; nor by a death that was 'languishing, long and painful; and that they had 'thought him worthy to die after that noble manner, in 'the career of his victories, and in the height of his 'glory.' He had a vision, like that of Marcus Brutus, that first threatened him in Gaul §, and afterwards appeared to him in Persia, just before his death §. These words, that some make him say, when he felt himself wounded, '¶ Thou hast overcome, Nazarene;' or, as others, 'Content thyself, Nazarene,' would hardly have

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxv. c. 3.

† Idem, *ibid.* c. 6.

‡ Idem, *ibid.* lib. xxv. c. 4.

§ Idem, lib. xx. c. 5.

§ Idem, lib. xxv. c. 2.

¶ Vicisti, Galilæe. Theodoret. *hist. eccles.* lib. iii. c. 10.

have been omitted, had they been believed by my witnesses, who, being present in the army, have set down even the least motions and words of his latter end, no more than certain other strange things that are recorded of him.

And, to return to my subject, ‘He long nourished, says Marcellinus, paganism in his heart; but all his army being christians, he durst not own it *: But, in the end, seeing himself strong enough to dare to discover himself, he caused the temples of the gods to be thrown open, and did his utmost to set on foot idolatry †. The better to effect this, having, at Constantinople, found the people disunited, and also the prelates of the church divided amongst themselves, and having convened them all before him, he gravely and earnestly admonished them to calm those civil dissensions; and that every one might freely, and without fear, follow his own religion: This he did the more sedulously solicit, in hopes that this licence would augment the schisms and faction of their division, and hinder the people from re-uniting, and consequently fortifying themselves against him by their unanimous intelligence and concord; having experienced, by the cruelty of some christians, that there is no beast in the world so much to be feared by man, as man.’

These are very near his words, wherein this is very worthy of consideration, that the emperor Julian made use of the same receipt of liberty of conscience, to inflame the civil dissensions, that our kings have now done to extinguish them: So that it may be said, on one side, ‘That to give the people the reins to entertain every man his own opinion is to scatter and sow division, and, as it were, to lend a hand to augment it, there being no barrier nor correction of law to stop and hinder its career;’ but, on the other side, a man may also say, ‘That to give people the reins to entertain every man his own opinion is to mollify and appease them by facility and toleration, and dulls the point which is whetted and made sharper by singularity, novelty, and difficulty.’ And, I think, it is more for the honour of

* Theodoret. hist. eccles. lib. xxi. c. 2,

† Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 3.

of the devotion of our kings, that, not having been able to do what they would, they have made a shew of being willing to do what they could.

C H A P. XX. *That we Taste nothing Pure.*

SO weak is our condition, that things cannot fall into our use in their natural simplicity and purity; the elements that we enjoy, are changed, even metals themselves; and gold must be debased, by some alloy, to fit it for our service. Neither has virtue, so simple as that which Aristo, Pyrrho, and also the Stoics have made the principal end of life; nor the Cyrenaic and Aristippic pleasure been useful to it without a mixture. Of the pleasure and goods that we enjoy, there is not one exempt from some mixture of evil and inconvenience.

—*medio de fonte leporum,*

*Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat *.*

i. e.

Something that's bitter will arise,

Even amidst our jollities.

Our extremest pleasure has some air of groaning and complaining in it: Would you not say, that it is dying of anguish? Nay, when we forge the image of it, in its excellency, we paint it with sickly and painful epithets, languor, softness, feebleness, faintness, morbidezza, a great testimony of their consanguinity and consubstantiality: Profound joy has more of severity than gaiety in it: The extremest and fullest contentment, more of the sedate than of the merry. † ‘*Ipsa felicitas, se nisi temperat, premit: * Even felicity, unless it moderate itself, oppresseth.*’ Pleasure preys upon us, according to the old Greek verse ‡, which says, ‘That the Gods sell us all the good they give us;’ that is to say, that they give us nothing pure and perfect, and which we do not purchase at the price of some evil.

Labour

* Lucret. lib. iv. v. 1126.

† Senec. Ep. 74.

‡ — *τῶν πόνων*

Πωλῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ γαθὰ Θεοὶ.

Epicharmus apud Xenophont. lib. xi. *ἀπαμύνημαυμ.*

Labour and pleasure, very unlike in nature, associate, nevertheless, by I know not what natural conjunction.

* Socrates says, ' That some God tried to mix in one mass, and to confound pain and pleasure, but not being able to do it, he bethought him, at least, to couple them by the tail.' Metrodorus † said, ' That in forrow there is some mixture of pleasure.' I know not, whether or no he intended any thing else by that saying: But, for my part, I am of opinion, that there is design, consent, and complacency in giving a man's self up to melancholy; I say, that, besides ambition, which may also have a stroke in the business, there is some shadow of delight and delicacy, which smiles upon, and flatters us, even in the very lap of melancholy. Are there not some complexions that feed upon it?

—*est quædam flere voluptas* ‡.

i. e.

A certain kind of pleasure 'tis to weep.

And one Attalus, in Seneca, says, ' That the memory of our deceased friends is as grateful to us, as the bitterness in the wine, very old, is to the palate §.'

Minister vetuli puer Falerni

Ingere mi calices amariores ||.

i. e.

Thou, boy, that fill'st the old Falernian wine,

The bitterest pour into the bowl that's mine.

' and as apples that have a sweet tartness.' Nature discovers this confusion to us. Painters hold, ' That the same motions and screwings of the face that serve for weeping, serve for laughter too;' and, indeed, before the one or the other be finished, do but observe the painter's conduct, and you will be in doubt to which of the two the design does tend: And the extremity of laughter is mixed with tears: ' Nullum sine auctorem mento malum est ¶: ' No evil is without its compensation.'

When I imagine man surrounded with all the conveniences

* In Plato's dialogue, intitled Phædon, p. 376.

† Metrodorus, Senec. ep. 99.

‡ Ovid. Trist. el. 3. v. 37.

|| Senec. epist. 63.

§ Catul. ep. 25. v. 1, 2.

¶ Senec. epist. 69.

niences that are to be desired, let us put the case, that all his members were always seized with a pleasure like that of generation in its most excessive height; I fancy him melting under the weight of his delight, and see him utterly unable to support so pure, so continual, and so universal a pleasure: Indeed he is running away whilst he is there, and naturally makes haste to escape, as from a place where he cannot stand firm, and where he is afraid of sinking.

When I religiously confess myself, I find, that the best good quality I have has in it some tincture of vice; and am afraid, that Plato, in his purest virtue (I who am as sincere and perfect a lover of him, and of the virtues of that stamp, as any other whatever) if he laid his ear close to himself, (and he did so) he would have heard some jarring sound of human mixture; but so obscure as only to be perceived by himself: Man is wholly and throughout but a patched and motly composition.

Even the laws of justice themselves cannot subsist without some mixture of injustice: Inasmuch that Plato says, 'They undertake to cut off the Hydra's head, who pretend to purge the laws, of all inconvenience.'
 'Omne * magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos utilitate publicâ rependitur: Every great example of justice has in it some mixture of injustice, which recompenses the wrong done to particular men, by its public utility,' says Tacitus.

It is likewise true, that for the business of life, and the service of public commerce, there may be some excesses in the purity and perspicacity of our mind; that penetrating light has too much of subtilty and curiosity: It must be a little stupified and blunted, to be rendered more obedient to example and practice; and a little veiled and obscured, to bear the better proportion to this dark and terrestrial life: And yet common and less speculative souls are found to be more proper, and more successful in the management of affairs; and the elevated and exquisite opinions of philosophy are unfit for business: This acute vivacity of the mind, and the supple and restless volubility of it, disturb our negotiations: We are to manage human enterprises more superficially and

* Tacit. annal. lib. xiv.

and roughly, and leave a great part to the prerogatives of fortune: It is not necessary to examine affairs with so much subtlety, and so deeply: A man loses himself in the consideration of so many contrary lustres, and various forms. ‘*Volutantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi* *.’ ‘Whilst they considered of things so inconsistent in themselves, they were astonished. ’Tis what the ancients say of Simonides †, ‘That by reason his imagination suggested to him, upon the question king Hiero had put to him, (to answer which, he had many days to consider it,) several witty and subtle arguments, whilst he doubted which was the most likely, he totally despaired of the truth.’ He that dives into, and in his inquisition comprehends all circumstances and consequences, hinders his choice: A little engine, well handled, is sufficient for executions of less or greater weight and moment: The best managers are those who are least able to tell us why they are so; and the greatest talkers, for the most part, do nothing to the purpose. I know one of this sort of men, and a most excellent manager in theory, who has miserably let an hundred thousand livres yearly revenue slip through his hands. I know another, who says, that he is able to give better advice than any of his council; and there is not, in the world, a fairer shew of a soul, and of a good understanding, than he has; nevertheless, when he comes to the test, his servants find him quite another thing; not to bring his misfortune into the account.

C H A P. XXI. *Against S L O T H.*

THE emperor Vespasian, being sick of the disease whereof he died, did not, for all that, neglect to inquire after the state of the empire; and, even in bed, continually dispatched very many affairs of great consequence; for which, being reprov'd by his physician, as a thing prejudicial to his health, ‘An emperor,’ said he, ‘must die standing †.’ A fine saying, in my opinion, and worthy

* Livy, lib. xxxii. c. 20.

† King Hiero had desired him to define what God was. Cic. de nat. deor. lib. i. c. 22.

‡ Suetonius in Vespasian. sect. xxiv.

worthy of a great prince *. The emperor Adrian afterwards made use of one to the same purpose; and kings should be often put in mind of it, to make them know, that the great office conferred upon them, of the command of so many men, is not an idle employment; and that there is nothing can so justly disgust a subject, and make him unwilling to expose himself to labour and danger for the service of his prince, than to see him, in the mean time, devoted to his ease, and to vain unmanly amusements: Nor will the subject be solicitous of his prince's preservation, who so much neglects that of his people.

Whoever offers to maintain, that 'tis better for a prince to carry on his wars by others, than in his own person, fortune will furnish him with examples enough of those whose lieutenants have brought great enterprises to a happy issue, and of those also whose presence has done more hurt than good. But no virtuous and valiant prince can bear to be tutored with such scandalous lessons; under colour of saving his head, like the statue of a saint, for the happiness of his kingdom, they degrade him from, and make him incapable of, his office, which is military throughout. I know one, who had much rather be beaten, than to sleep whilst another fights for him; and who never, without envy, heard of any brave thing done, even by his own officers, in his absence: And Selima the First said, with very good reason, in my opinion, 'That victories, obtained without the sovereign's reigns, were never complete.' Much more readily would he have said, that that sovereign ought to blush for shame, to pretend to any share in it, when he had contributed nothing to it, but his voice and thought; nor even so much as those, considering, that, in such works as that, the direction and command that deserve honour, are only such as are given upon the place, and in the heat of the business. No pilot performs his office by standing still. The princes of the Ottoman family, the chiefest in the world in military fortune, have warmly embraced this opinion; and Bajazet the second, with his son that swerved from it, spending their time in the sciences, and other employments within doors, gave great blows

* *Æl. Spartiani Ælius Verus, sect. xvi. Hist. August.*

blows to their empire : And Amurath the third, now reigning, following their example, begins to do the same. Was it not Edward the third, king of England, who said this of our king Charles the fifth ? ‘ There never was king who so seldom put on his arms, and yet never king who cut me out so much work.’ He might well think it strange, as an effect of chance more than of reason : And let those seek out some other advocate for them than me, who will reckon the kings of Castile and Portugal amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, because, at the distance of twelve hundred leagues from their lazy residence, by the conduct of their agents, they made themselves masters of both Indies ; of which, ’tis a question, if they had but the courage to go and enjoy them.

The emperor Julian said yet further, ‘ That a philosopher, and a brave man, ought not so much as to breathe ;’ that is to say, not to allow any more to bodily necessities, than what we cannot refuse ; ‘ keeping the soul and body still intent and busy about things honourable, great, and virtuous.’ He was ashamed, if any one in public saw him spit or sweat, (which is said by some also of the Lacedæmonian young men, and which Xenophon says of the Persian) because he conceived, that exercise, continual labour, and sobriety, ought to have dried up all those superfluities. What Seneca says will not be unfit for this place ; which is, ‘ That the ancient Romans kept their youth always standing, and taught them nothing that they were to learn, sitting *.’

’Tis a generous desire to wish to die usefully, and like a man ; but the effect lies not so much in our resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have proposed to themselves, in battle, either to conquer or die, who have failed both in the one and the other : Wounds and imprisonment crossing their design, and compelling them to live against their wills. There are diseases that demolish even our desires, and our knowledge. Fortune was not obliged to second the vanity of the Roman legions, who bound themselves, by oath, ‘ either to overcome, or die.’ ‘ Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie ; si fallo, Jovem patrem, gradivumque Martem, aliosque iratos

* Senec. ep. 88.

‘ invoco Deos *. ‘ I will return (Marcus Fabius) a conqueror from the army; and, if I fail, I wish the indignation of Jove, Mars, and the other offended Gods, may light upon me.’ The Portuguese say, ‘ That, in a certain place of their conquest of the Indies, they met with soldiers, who had damned themselves, with horrible execrations, to enter into no composition, but either to kill, or be killed; and had their heads and beards shaved in token of this vow.’ ’Tis to much purpose to hazard ourselves, and to be obstinate: It seems as if blows avoid those that present themselves too briskly to danger; and do not willingly fall upon those who too willingly seek them, and so defeat their design. There was one, who had tried all ways, and could not obtain dying by the hand of the enemy, was constrained, in order to make good his resolution of bringing home victory, or of losing his life, to kill himself, even in the heat of battle. Among other examples, this is one: Philistus, general of the naval army of Dionysius the younger, against the Syracusans, presented them battle, which was sharply disputed, their forces being equal. In which engagement he had the better at first, through his valour: But, the Syracusans surrounding his gally, after he had with great feats of arms †, tried to disengage himself, and hoping for no relief, with his own hand he took away that life he had so liberally, but in vain, exposed to the enemy.’

‘ Muley Moluch, King of Fez, who, Anno 1578, won the battle against Sebastian, king of Portugal, so famous for the death of three kings, and the translation of that great kingdom to the crown of Castile, was extremely sick when the Portuguese entered, in an hostile manner, into his dominions; and, from that day forward, grew worse and worse, still drawing nearer to, and foreseeing his end: Yet never did man imploy his own sufficiency more vigorously and bravely, than he did upon this occasion. He found himself too weak to undergo the pomp and ceremony of entering into this camp, which, after their manner, is very magnificent, and full of bustle; and therefore resigned that honour to his brother: But the office of a general was all that

‘ he

Tit. Liv. lib. ii. c. 45.

† Plutarch in the Life of Bion, c. 8.

' he resigned ; all the rest, of utility and necessity, he
 ' most exactly and gloriously performed ; his body ly-
 ' ing upon a couch, but his judgment and courage up-
 ' right and firm to his last gasp, and, in some sort, be-
 ' yond it : He might have wasted his enemy, who was
 ' indiscreetly advanced into his dominions, without strik-
 ' ing a blow ; and it was very grievous to his heart,
 ' that, for want of a little life, or some-body to substi-
 ' tute in the conduct of this war *, and of the affairs of
 ' a troubled state, he found himself compelled to seek a
 ' doubtful and bloody victory, when he had another,
 ' better and surer, already in his power : Yet he won-
 ' derfully managed the continuance of his sickness, in
 ' wasting the enemy, and in drawing them from the na-
 ' val army, and the sea-ports on the coast of Africa,
 ' even till the last day of his life, which he designedly
 ' reserved for this great battle. He formed the main
 ' battle in a circle, environing the Portugal army on
 ' every side ; which circle, coming to draw up close to-
 ' gether, did not only hinder them in the conflict,
 ' (which was very sharp, through the valour of the
 ' young invading king) considering they were, every
 ' way, to make a front ; but also prevented their flight
 ' after the defeat, so that, finding all passages possessed
 ' and shut up, they were constrained to close up toge-
 ' ther again ; ' *coacervanturque non solum cæde, sed*
 ' *etiam fuga ;* and there they who stood, and they who
 ' fled, were slain in heaps upon one another, leaving to
 ' the conqueror a very bloody and intire victory. As
 ' he was dying, he caused himself to be carried and
 ' hurried from place to place, where most need was ;
 ' and, passing thro' the files, encouraged the captains
 ' and soldiers one after another. But, a corner of his
 ' main battle being broke, he was not to be restrained
 ' from mounting on horseback, sword in hand. He did
 ' his utmost to break from those about him, and to rush
 ' into the thickest of the battle, they all the while stop-
 ' ping him, some by the bridle, some by his robe, and
 ' others by his stirrups. This last effort totally depriv-
 ' ed him of the little life he had left ; they again laid him
 ' upon his couch, but, coming to himself again, he
 ' I 2 ' started,

* Thuanus, hist. lib. lxx. p. 248. the Geneva edition, in 1720.

• started, as it were, out of his swoon, all other faculties failing, to give his people notice, that they were
 • to conceal his death (the most necessary command he
 • had then to give, that his soldiers might not be discouraged with the news) he expired with his finger
 • upon his mouth, the ordinary signal for keeping silence *.' Who ever lived so long and so far in death? Who ever died more like a man? The most extreme, and the most natural degree of entertaining death, is to look upon it, not only without astonishment, but without care, continuing the wonted course of life even into it; as Cato did, who entertained himself in study, and went to sleep, having a violent and bloody design upon himself in his heart, and the weapon in his hand, to execute it.

C H A P. XXII. *Of Posts.*

I Have been none of the least able in this exercise, which is proper for men of my pitch, well-set and short; but I give it over, it shakes us too much to continue long. I was just now reading, 'That king Cyrus, the better to have news brought him from all parts of the empire, which was of a vast extent, caused it to be tried, how far a horse could go, in a day, before he baited; and at that distance appointed men, whose business it was to have horses always in readiness, to mount those on who were dispatched away to him †.' And some say, that this swift way of travelling is equal to the flight of cranes.

Cæsar says, 'That ‡ Lucius Vibulus Rufus, being in great haste to carry intelligence to Pompey, rid day and night, often taking fresh horses for the greater speed;' and 'himself ||,' as Suetonius reports, 'travelled a hundred miles a day in a hired coach; but he was a furious courier, for, where rivers stopped his way,

* Thuanus, lib. v. p. 248, observes, that it was said Charles of Bourbon gave the same signal, when he was expiring at the foot of the walls of Rome, which his troops took by storm, just after his death.

† Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, lib. viii. c. 6. sect. 9.

‡ De bello civili, lib. iii. c. 4.

|| In Cæsar, sect. 57.

‘ way, he always passed them by swimming, without
 ‘ turning out of his way to look for either bridge or
 ‘ ford.’ Tiberius Nero, going to see his brother Drusus *, who was sick in Germany, travelled two hundred miles in four and twenty hours, having three coaches. In the war of the Romans, against king Antiochus, T. Sempronius Gracchus, says Livy, ‘ Per dispositos equos
 ‘ propè incredibili celeritate ab Amphissâ tertio die Pellam
 ‘ pervenit †.’ ‘ By horses purposely laid on the road, he
 ‘ rid with almost incredible speed, in three days, from
 ‘ Amphissa to Pella.’ And it appears there, that they were established posts, and not just order’d for this occasion.

Cecinna’s invention, to send back news to his family, was performed with much more speed, for ‘ he ‡ took
 ‘ swallows along with him, from home, and turned them
 ‘ out towards their nests, when he would send back
 ‘ any news: setting a mark of some colour upon them
 ‘ to signify his meaning, according to what he and
 ‘ his people had before agreed upon.’ At the theatre at Rome, masters of families carried pigeons in their bosoms, to which they tied letters, when they had a mind to send any orders to their people at home; and the pigeons were trained up to bring back an answer. || D. Brutus made use of the same device, when besieged in Mutina; and others elsewhere have done the same.

In Peru, they rid post upon men’s shoulders, who took them up in a kind of litter, and ran with full speed, the first bearers throwing their load to the second, without making any stop; and so on.

I understand, that the Walachians, who are the grand seignior’s couriers, perform wonderful diligences, by reason they have liberty to dismount the first horseman they meet on the road, giving him their own tired horse: To keep themselves alert, they gird themselves tight about the middle with a broad belt, as many others do; but I could never find any relief by it.

* Plin. nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 20.

† Tit. Liv. lib. xxxvii. c. 7.

‡ Plin. nat. hist. lib. 10. c. 24.

|| Idem, ibid. c. 37.

CHAP. XXIII. *Of ill Means employed to a good End.*

THERE is a wonderful relation and correspondence in this universal system of the works of nature, which makes it plainly appear, that it is neither accidental, nor carried on by diverse masters. The diseases and conditions of our bodies are also manifest in states, and the governments of the world: Kingdoms and republics rise, flourish, and decay with age, as we do. We are subject to a repletion of humours that are useless and dangerous, either of those that are good, for even those the physicians are afraid of: And, since we have nothing in us that is stable, they say, 'That a too brisk and vigorous perfection of health must be lowered and abated by art, lest, as our nature cannot rest in any certain situation, and has not whither to rise to mend itself, it should make too sudden and too disorderly a retreat;' and therefore they prescribe to wrestlers to purge and bleed, to take down that superabundant health; 'or else a repletion of evil humours, which is the ordinary cause of maladies.' States are very often sick of the like repletion, and therefore diverse sorts of purgations have commonly been used. Sometimes a great multitude of families are turned out to clear the country; who seek out new abodes elsewhere, or live upon others. After this manner our ancient Franks came from the heart of Germany, seized upon Gaul, and drove thence the first inhabitants; so was that infinite deluge of men formed, that came into Italy under the conduct of Brennus, and others: So the Goths and Vandals, also the people who now possess Greece, left their native country, to go and settle abroad, where they might have more room; and there are scarce two or three little corners of the world, that have not felt the effect of such removals. The Romans, by this means, erected their colonies; for, perceiving their city to increase beyond measure, they eased it of the most unnecessary people, and sent them to inhabit and cultivate the lands by them conquered.

Sometimes also they purposely fomented wars with some of their enemies, not only to keep their men in action,

tion, for fear, lest idleness, the mother of corruption, should bring some worse inconvenience upon them,

*Et patimur longæ pacis mala, sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem *.*

i. e.

For luxury has introduc'd such harms,

As take revenge for our victorious arms.

but also to serve for a blood-letting to their republic, and a little to exhale the too vehement heat of their youth, to prune and clear the branches from the too luxuriant trunk; and to this end it was, that they formerly maintained so long a war with Carthage.

In the treaty of Brittany, Edward the third, king of England, would not, in the general peace he then made with our king, comprehend † the controversy about the duchy of Brittany, that he might have a place wherein to discharge himself of his soldiers; and that the vast number of English he had brought over to serve him in that expedition, might not return back into England. And this was also one reason why our king Philip consented to send his son John on the expedition beyond sea, that he might take along with him a great number of hot-brained young fellows, that were then in his troops.

In our times, there are many who talk at this rate, wishing that this hot commotion that is now amongst us, might discharge itself in some neighbouring war, for fear lest the peccant humours which now reign in this politic body of ours, if not diffused farther, should keep the fever still raging, and end in our total ruin; and, in truth, a foreign is much more supportable than a civil war; but I do not believe, that God will favour so unjust a design, as to offend and quarrel with others for our own advantage.

Nil mihi tam valde placeat, Rhamnusa virgo,

Quod temerè invitis suspiciatur heris †.

i. e.

In war that does invade another's right,

For sake of plunder, may I ne'er delight.

And yet the weakness of our condition does often push us upon the necessity of making use of ill means to a good

* Juv. Sat. vi. v. 192.

† Catul. carm. 66. v. 78.

† Froissart, vol. I. c. 213.

good end. Lycurgus, the most virtuous and perfect legislator that ever was, invented this unjust practice of making 'the Helotes, who were their slaves, drunk by force, by so doing to teach his people temperance *, to the end, that the Spartiates, seeing them so demolished and drowned in wine, might abhor the excess of 'this vice.' And yet they were more to blame, who, of old, gave leave, that criminals †, to what sort of death soever they were condemned, should be dissected alive by the physicians, that they might make a discovery of our inward parts in the life, and build their art upon greater certainty: For, if we must run into excesses, 'tis more excusable to do it for the health of the soul, than that of the body; as the Romans trained up the people to valour, and the contempt of dangers and death, by those furious spectacles of gladiators and fencers, who fought it out till the last, cut, and killed one another in their presence:

*Quid vesani aliud sibi vult ars impia ludi,
Quid mortes juvenum, quid sanguine passa voluptas †?*
i. e.

Of such inhuman sports what further use?

What pleasure can the blood of men produce?

And this custom continued till the emperor Theodosius's time.

*Arripe dilatam tua, dux, in tempora famam,
Quodque patris superest successor laudis habeto:
Nullus in urbe cadat, cujus sit pœna voluptas,
Jam solis contenta seris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis §.*
i. e.

Prince, take the honours destin'd for thy reign,

Inherit of thy father what remain,

Henceforth let none at Rome for sport be slain.

Let none but beasts blood stain the theatre,

And no more homicides be acted there.

It was, in truth, a wonderful example, and of very great advantage for the instruction of the people, to see every

* Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus, c. 21. of Amyot's translation.

† This is reported by Celsus, who does not disapprove it. A. Corn. Cels. medicina in præfat. p. 7. edit. Th. I. ab. Almelovent. Amst. 1713.

‡ Prudent. lib. ult. v. 643.

§ Idem, ibid.

every day before their eyes a hundred, two hundred ; nay, a thousand couples of men armed against one another, cut one another to pieces with such intrepidity, that they were never heard to utter so much as one syllable of weakness or commiseration ; never seen to turn back, nor so much as to make one cowardly motion to evade a blow, but rather exposed their necks to the adversary's sword, and presented themselves to receive the stroke. And many of them, when mortally wounded, have sent to ask the spectators, if they were satisfied with their behaviour ? and then they lay down to give up the ghost upon the place. It was not enough for them to fight and die bravely, but chearfully too ; insomuch that they were hissed and cursed, if they made any dispute about receiving their death. The very maids themselves egged them on.

——— *consurgit ad iñtus :*

*Et quoties victor ferrum jugulo inserit, illa
Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque jacentis
Virgo modesta jubet conseruo pollice rumpi*.*

i. e.

The modest virgin is delighted so
With the fell sport, that she applauds the blow ;
And when the victor bathes his bloody hand
In's fellow's throat, and lays him on the sand ;
Then she's most pleas'd, and shews, by signs, she'd fain
Have him rip up the bosom of the slain.

The ancient Romans only imployed criminals in this lesson ; but they afterwards imployed innocent slaves in the work, and even freemen too, who sold themselves to this effect ; nay, moreover, senators and knights of Rome ; and also women :

*Nunc caput in mortem vendunt, et funus arena,
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella quiescunt †.*

i. e.

They sell themselves to death, and, since the wars
Are ceas'd, each for himself a foe prepares.

*Hos inter fremitus, novosque lusus,
Stat sexus rudis, insciusque ferri,
Et pugnas capit improbus viriles ‡.*

i. e.

* Prudent. lib. ult. v. 617.

† Manil. astron. lib. iv. v.

225, 226.

‡ Statius, syl. 6. lib. i. v. 52, 53, 54.

i. e.

Amidst these tumults and alarms,
 The tender sex, unskill'd in arms,
 Challeng'd each other to engage,
 And fought, as men, with equal rage.

which I should think strange and incredible, if we were not accustomed every day to see, in our * own wars, many thousands of men, of other nations, staking their blood and their lives for money, often in quarrels wherein they have no manner of concern.

C H A P. XXIV. *Of the Roman GRANDEUR.*

I Will only say a word or two of this infinite argument, to shew the simplicity of those who compare the pitiful grandeurs of these times to that of Rome. In the seventh book of Cicero's familiar epistles, (but let the grammarians put out that surname of familiar, if they please, for, in truth, it is not very proper; and they who, instead of familiar, have substituted 'ad familiares,' may gather something to justify them for so doing, out of what Suetonius says, in the life of Cæsar, 'That he had a volume of letters of his, ad familiares') there is one directed to Cæsar, being then in Gaul, wherein Cicero repeats these words, which were in the end of another letter that Cæsar had writ to him: 'As for Marcus Furius, whom you have recommended to me, I will make him king of Gaul; and, if you would have me advance any other friend of yours, send him to me †.' It was no new thing for a mere citizen of Rome, as Cæsar then was, to dispose of kingdoms; for he took away that of king Deiotarus from him, to give it to a gentleman of the city of Pergamum, called Mithridates ‡. And they who writ his life, record several cities by him sold; and Suetonius says, 'That he had, at once, from king Ptolemy, near 6000 talents, or three millions and six hundred thousand crowns,' which

* Witness the Swiss, who, though of the same country, and perhaps of the same family, serve one against another, for pay, in the armies of France, Holland, &c.

† Lib. vii. ep. 5. *Ciceronis Cæsari imper.*

‡ Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii. c. 37.

which was almost the same as selling him his own kingdom.

*Tot Galatæ, tot Pontus, tot Lydia nummis *.*

i. e.

Such sums of money did he raise, as these,

From Pontus, Lydia, and the Galates.

Mark Antony said, 'That the grandeur of the people of Rome was not so much seen in what they took, as in what they gave †.' Yet, many years before Antony, they had dethroned one amongst the rest with so wonderful authority, that, in all the Roman history, I have not observed any thing that more denotes the height of their power. Antiochus possessed all Egypt, and was, moreover, ready to conquer Cyprus, and other appendixes of that empire; when, being upon the progress of his victories, C. Popilius came to him from the senate, and, at their first meeting, refused to take him by the hand, till he had read his letters, which after the king had perused, and told him, he would consider of them, Popilius made a circle about him with the stick he had in his hand, saying, 'Return me an answer, that I may carry it back to the senate, before thou stirrest out of this circle ‡.' Antiochus, astonished at the roughness of so urgent a command, after a little pause, replied, 'I will obey the senate's command;' and then it was that Popilius saluted him as a friend to the people of Rome. After having quitted claim to so great a monarchy, and in such a torrent of successful fortune, upon three words in writing; in earnest he had reason, as he did, to send the senate word, by his ambassadors, 'that he had received their order with the same respect, as if it had arrived from the immortal Gods §.'

All the kingdoms, that Augustus gained by the right of conquest, he either restored to those who had lost them, or presented them to strangers. And Tacitus, in reference to this, speaking of Cogidunus, king of England, gives us a wonderful instance of that infinite power: 'The Romans, says he, were, from all anti-quity,

* Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i. c. 203.

† Plutarch, in the life

of Antony, c. 8.

‡ Tit. Liv. lib. xiv. c. 12.

§ Idem,

ibid. c. 23.

‘quity, accustomed to leave the kings they had subdued, in possession of their kingdoms under their authority, that they might have even kings to be their slaves:’ ‘*Ut haberent instrumenta servitutis, et reges* *.’ ’Tis likely, that Solymán, whom we have seen make a gift of Hungary, and other principalities, had therein more respect to this consideration, than to that he was wont to alledge, viz. ‘That he was glutted and overcharged with so many monarchies, and so much dominion, as his own valour, or that of his ancestors, had acquired.’

C H A P. XXV. *Not to counterfeit SICKNESS.*

THERE is a choice epigram in Martial, for he has of all sorts, where he pleasantly tells the story of Cælius, who, to avoid making his court to some great men of Rome, to go to their levee, and to attend them abroad, pretended to have the gout; and, the better to colour it, anointed his legs, had them swathed up, and perfectly counterfeited both the gesture and countenance of a gouty person; till, in the end, fortune did him the kindness to give him the gout in earnest.

*Tantum cura potest et ars doloris,
Desiit fingere Cælius podagram* †.

i. e.

The power of counterfeiting is so great,
Cælius has ceas'd the gout to counterfeit.

I think I have read, somewhere in Appian, a story, like this, of one who, to escape the proscriptions of the triumviri of Rome, and the better to be concealed from the discovery of those who pursued him, having masked himself in a disguise, did also add this invention, ‘to counterfeit having but one eye; but, when he came to have a little more liberty, and went to take off the plaister he had a great while worn over his eye, he found he had totally lost the sight of it.’ ’Tis possible, that the action of sight was dulled, for having been so long without exercise, and that the optic power was wholly retired into the other eye: For we evidently perceive, that the eye we keep shut, sends some part of its

virtue

* Idem, in vitâ Julii Agricolæ.
v. 8, 9.

† Mart. epig. 38. lib. vii.

virtue to its fellow, which thereby swells and grows bigger; moreover, the sitting still, with the heat of the ligatures and plaisters, might very well have brought some gouty humour upon this dissembler in Martial.

Reading, in Froissard *, the vow of a company of young English gallants, 'to carry their left eyes bound up till they were arrived in France, and had performed some notable exploit against us.' I have often been tickled with the conceit of its befalling them as it did the before-named Roman, and that they found they had but one eye a-piece when they returned to their mistresses, for whose sakes they had entered into this ridiculous vow.

Mothers have reason to rebuke their children, when they counterfeit having but one eye, squinting, lameness, or other such personal defects; for, besides that their bodies, being then so tender, may be subject to take an ill bent, fortune, I know not how, sometimes seems to delight to take us at our word; and I have heard several instances of people who have become really sick, by only feigning to be so. I have always used, whether on horseback, or on foot, to carry a stick in my hand, and so as to affect doing it with a grace. Many have threatened me, that this affected hobbling would, one day, be turned into necessity, that is, 'that I should be the first of my family to have the gout.'

But let us lengthen this chapter, and etch it out with another piece, concerning blindness. Pliny reports of one, 'that dreaming he was blind, found himself so next day, without any preceding malady †.' The force of imagination might assist in this case, as I have said elsewhere, and Pliny seems to be of the same opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions the body felt within (whereof the physicians, if they please, may find out the cause) which took away his sight, were the occasion of his dream.

Let us add another story, of much the same nature, which Seneca relates, in one of his epistles ‡. 'You know, says he, writing to Lucilius, that Harpaste, my wife's fool, is thrown upon my family as an here-

* Vol. I. c. 29.

† Nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 50.

‡ Ep. 50.

‘ditary charge, for I have naturally an aversion to those monsters; and, if I have a mind to laugh at a fool, I need not seek him far, I can laugh at myself. This fool has suddenly lost her sight: I tell you a strange, but a very true thing; she is not sensible that she is blind, but eternally importunes her keeper to take her abroad, because she says my house is dark: But, believe me, that what we laugh at in her, happens to every one of us: No one knows himself to be avaricious. Besides, the blind call for a guide, but we wander of our own accord. I am not ambitious; we say, but a man cannot live otherwise at Rome: I am not wasteful, but the city requires a great expence: ‘Tis not my fault if I am choleric; and, if I have not yet established any certain course of life, ‘tis the fault of youth. Let us not look abroad for our disease, ‘tis in us, and planted in our intestines: And our not perceiving ourselves to be sick even renders us more hard to be cured: If we do not betimes begin to dress ourselves, when shall we have done with so many wounds and evils that afflict us? And yet we have a most pleasant medicine in philosophy; of all others, we are not sensible of the pleasure till after the cure; this pleases and heals at the same time.’ This is what Seneca says, who has carried me from my subject; but ‘tis a digression not unprofitable.

CHAP. XXVI. *Of THUMBS.*

TACITUS* reports, that, amongst certain Barbarian kings, their manner was, when they would make a firm obligation, to join their right hands close together, and twist each other’s thumbs; and when, by force of pressure, the blood appeared in the ends, they lightly pricked them with some sharp instrument, and mutually sucked them.

Physicians say, ‘that the thumb is the master-finger of each hand, and that the Latin etymology is derived from *Pollere* †.’ The Greeks called it *ἀνίχαις*, as who

* Annal. lib. xii.

† This seems to be taken from Macrobius’s *Saturn.* lib. vii. c. 13, who took it, in his turn, from Atticus Capito.

who should say, another hand. And it seems, that the Latins also sometimes take it, in this sense, for the whole hand;

Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis,

*Molli pollice nec rogata surgit *.*

It was, at Rome, a signification of favour, to turn down, and clap in the thumbs;

Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum †.

i. e.

Thy patron, when thou mak'st thy sport,
Will with both thumbs applaud thee for't.
and of disfavour to lift them up, and thrust them outward;

— *converso pollice vulgi*

Quemlibet occidunt populariter ‡.

i. e.

The vulgar, with up-listed thumbs,
Kill each one that before them comes §.

The Romans exempted from war all such as were maimed in the thumbs, as persons not able to bear arms. Augustus confiscated the estate of a Roman knight, 'who had maliciously cut off the thumbs of two young children he had, to excuse them from going into the armies ||;' and, before him, the senate, in the time of the Italian war, condemned Caius Valienus to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscated all his goods, 'for having purposely cut off the thumb of his left hand, to exempt himself from that expedition ¶.'

Some one, I have forgot who, having won a naval battle, 'cut off the thumbs of all his vanquished enemies, to render them incapable of fighting, and of handling the oar.' The Athenians also caused the thumbs of those of Ægina to be cut off, 'to deprive them of the preference in the art of navigation **.' And, in Lacedæmonia, pedagogues chastised their scholars by biting their thumbs.

K 2

CHAP.

* Mart. lib. xii. epig. 99. v. 8, 9.

† Juv. Sat. iii. v. 36.

‡ This was a metaphorical manner of speech, taken from the Arena. When a gladiator was thrown in fighting, the people asked his life, by turning down their thumbs, or his death by lifting them up.

|| Suet. in Cæsar. Augusto, sect. 24.

¶ Val. Max. lib. v. c. 3. sect. 3.

** Idem, ibid. lib. ix. in externis, sect. 8.

CHAP. XXVII. *Cowardise the Mother of CRUELTY.*

I Have often heard it said, 'That cowardise is the 'mother of cruelty;' yet I have found, by experience, that that malicious and inhuman animosity and fierceness is usually accompanied with a feminine faintness. I have seen the most cruel people, and upon frivolous occasions, very apt to cry. Alexander, the tyrant of Pheres, durst not be a spectator of tragedies on the theatre, for fear lest his subjects should see him weep at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache *; 'tho' he himself caused so many people every day to 'be cruelly murdered.' Is it not meanness of spirit, that renders them so pliable to all extremities? Valour (whose effect is only to be exercised against resistance,

Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice juveni †.

i. e.

— neither, unless it fight,

In conquering a bull does he delight.)

stops when he sees the enemy at its mercy; but pusillanimity, to say, that it was also in the action, not having courage to meddle in the first act, rushes into the second, of blood and massacre. The murders in victories are commonly performed by the rascality, and officers of the baggage; and that which causes so many unheard-of cruelties, in domestic wars, is, 'that the dregs of the 'people are flushed in being up to the elbows in blood, 'and ripping up bodies that lie prostrate at their feet, 'having no sense of any other valour.'

Et lupus, et turpes instant morientibus urfi,

Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera est †.

i. e.

None but the wolves, the filthy bears, and all

Th' ignoble beasts, will on the dying fall.

Like cowardly curs, that, in the house, worry and tear in pieces the skins of wild beasts, which they durst not attack in the field. What is it, in these times of ours, that causes our mortal quarrels? And how comes it, that,

* Plutarch in the life of Pelopidas, ch. 15.

† Claud. ad Hadrianum, v. 30.

‡ Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. eleg. 5. v. 35.

that, where our ancestors had some degree of revenge, we now begin with the last degree, and that, at the first meeting, nothing is to be said, but kill? What is this but cowardise?

Every one is sensible, that there is more bravery and disdain in subduing an enemy, than in cutting his throat; and in making him yield, than in putting him to the sword: Besides that, the appetite of revenge is better asswaged and pleased, because its only aim is to make itself felt: And this is the reason why we do not fall upon a block or a stone when they hurt us, because they are not capable of feeling our revenge; and to kill a man is to shelter him from the hurt we intend him. And as Bias cried out to a wicked fellow, ‘I know that, sooner or later, thou wilt have thy reward, but I am afraid I shall not see it.’ And as the Orchomenians complained, ‘that the penitence of Lyciscus, for the treason committed against them, came at a time when there was no one remaining alive of those who had been concerned in it, and whom the pleasure of this penitency must have affected;’ so revenge is to be repented of, when the person on whom it is executed, loses the means of suffering it: For as the avenger desires to see and enjoy the pleasure of his revenge, so the person on whom he takes revenge, should be a spectator too, to be mortified by it, and brought to repentance. He shall repent it, we say, and, because we have given him a pistol-shot through the head, do we imagine he will repent? On the contrary, if we but observe, we shall find, that he makes a mouth at us in falling; and is so far from repenting, that he does not so much as repine at us: And we do him the kindest office of life, which is to make him die speedily and insensibly: We are afterwards to hide ourselves, and to shift and fly from the officers of justice, who pursue us; and all the while he is at rest. Killing is good to frustrate a future injury, not to revenge one that is already past; and ’tis more an act of fear than bravery, of precaution than courage, and of defence than of offence: It is manifest that by it we abandon both the true end of revenge, and the care of our reputation; we are afraid, if he lives, he will do us such another injury;

not out of animosity to him, but care of thyself, that thou riddest him out of the way.

In the kingdom of Narlingua, this expedient would be useless to us: There not only soldiers, but tradesmen also end their differences by the sword. 'The king never denies the field to any one that will fight; and, when they are persons of quality, he looks on, rewarding the victor with a chain of gold; for which any one that will, may fight with him who wears it: Thus, by coming off from one combat, he is engaged in many.' If we thought, by valour, to be always masters of our enemies, and to triumph over them at pleasure, we should be sorry they should escape from us as they do, by dying; but we have a mind to conquer more with safety than honour, and, in our quarrel, more pursue the end than the glory.

Afinius Pollio, who, for being a worthy man, was less to be excused, committed a like error, who having writ a libel against Plancus, deferred to publish it, till 'he was long dead*:' Which is to make mouths at a blind man, to rail at one that is deaf, and to wound a man that has no feeling, rather than to run the hazard of his resentment. And Plancus is made to say, in his own behalf, 'That it was only for ghosts to struggle with the dead.' He that stays to see the author die, whose writings he intends to quarrel with, what does he but declare, that he would bite, but has not teeth? It was told Aristotle, 'That some one had spoken ill of him.' 'Let him do more, said he, let him whip me too, provided I am not there.'

Our fathers contented themselves to revenge an injury with the lye, the lye with a box on the ear, and so forward; they were valiant enough not to fear their adversary, both living and provoked: We tremble for fear, so long as we see them on foot. And, that this is so, is it not our noble practice of these days equally to prosecute to death both him that has offended us, and him whom we have offended?

'Tis also a kind of cowardise, that has introduced the custom of seconds, thirds, and fourths in our duels: They were formerly duels, they are now skirmishes and battles.

* Pliny's preface to Vespasian.

battles. The first inventors of this practice feared to be alone. 'Quum in se cuique minimum fiducia esset:' 'They had little confidence in themselves'. For, naturally, any company whatever is comfortable and assisting in danger. Third persons were formerly called in to prevent disorder and foul play only, and to be witnesses of the success of the combat. But since they have brought it to this pass, that they themselves engage, whoever is invited cannot handsomely stand by as an idle spectator, for fear of being suspected either of want of affection or courage. Besides the injustice and unworthiness of such an action, the engaging other force and valour, in the protection of your honour, than your own; I conceive it a disadvantage to a brave man, and who wholly relies upon himself to shuffle his fortune with that of a second, since every one runs hazard enough for himself, without running it for another, and has enough to do to depend on his own valour for the defence of his life, without intrusting a thing so dear in a third man's hand: For, if it be not expressly agreed on before to the contrary, 'tis a combined party of all four, and, if your second be killed, you have two to deal withal with good reason. And to say, that it is foul play; it is so indeed, as it is for one, well-armed, to attack a man that has but the hilt of a broken sword in his hand, or for a man clear, and in a whole skin, to fall on a man that is already desperately wounded; but, if these advantages you have got by fighting, you may make use of them without reproach: All that is weighed and considered is the disparity and inequality of the condition of the combatants when they begun; as to the rest, you charge it upon fortune: And though you had alone three enemies upon you at once, your two companions being killed, you have no more wrong done you, than I should do, in a battle, by running a man through, whom I should see engaged with one of our own men, at the like advantage. The nature of society requires, that where there is troop against troop, (as where our duke of Orleans * challenged Henry king of England, an hundred against an hundred; where the Argives challenged three hundred against as many of the Lacedæmonians †, and three to three,

* Monstrelet's chronicle, Vol. I. c. 9. † Herodot. lib. i. p. 37.

three, as the Horatii against the Curiatii) the multitude on either side is considered but as one single man. Wherever there is company, the hazard is confused and mixed:

I have a domestic interest in this discourse; for my brother, the sieur de Mutecoulon, was, at Rome, intreated by a gentleman, with whom he had no great acquaintance, and who was defendant, and challenged by another, to be his second: In this duel he found himself matched with a gentleman, his neighbour, much better known to him, where, after having dispatched his man, seeing the two principals still on foot, and sound, he ran in to disengage his friend. What could he do less? Should he have stood still, and, if chance had ordered it so, have seen him, he was come thither to defend, killed before his face? What he had hitherto done signified nothing to the business, the quarrel was yet undecided: The courtesy that you may, and certainly ought to shew to your enemy, when you have reduced him to an ill condition, and have a great advantage over him, I do not see how you can shew it, where the interest of another is in the case, where you are only called in as an assistant, and where the quarrel is none of yours: He could neither be just nor courteous at the hazard of him he had agreed to second, and he was also enlarged from the prisons of Italy, at the speedy and solemn request of our king. Indiscreet nation! We are not content to make our vices and follies known to the world by report only, but we must go into foreign countries, there to shew them what fools we are. Put three Frenchmen into the desarts of Lybia, they will not live a month together without quarreling and fighting; so that you would say, that this peregrination were a thing purposely designed to give strangers the pleasure of our tragedies, and often to such as rejoice and laugh at our miseries. We go into Italy to learn to fence, and fall to practise at the expence of our lives, before we have learned it: And yet, according to the rule of discipline, theory should precede the practice. We discover ourselves to be but learners.

*Primitiæ juvenum miseræ, bellique futuri
Dura rudimenta *.*

i. e.

* *Æneid.* lib. xi. v. 156.

i. e.

Of youth the first instructions doleful are,
And hard the rudiments of future war.

I know fencing is an art very useful to its end, and have experimentally found, that skill in it hath inspired some with courage above their natural talent *: But this is not properly valour, because it supports itself by skill; and is founded upon something besides itself: The honour of combat consists in the emulation of courage, and not of skill; and therefore I have known a friend of mine, famed for a great master of this exercise, make choice of such arms, in his quarrels, as might deprive him of the means of this advantage, and wholly depended upon fortune and assurance, to the end that they might not attribute his victory rather to his skill in fencing than his valour. When I was young, gentlemen avoided the reputation of good fencers, as injurious to them; and learned to fence, with all imaginable privacy, as a trade of subtlety, derogating from true and native virtue.

*Non schivar, non parar, non ritirarsi,
Vogliono costor, ne qui destrezza ha parte,
Non danno i colpi finti hor pieni, hor scarfi,
Toglie l'ira e il furor l'uso de l'arte.
O di le spade horribilmente urtarsi
Amezzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non parte :
Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in moto ;
Ne scende taglio in van ne punta à voto †.*

i. e.

They neither shrink, nor vantage sought of ground,
They travers'd not, nor skipp'd from part to part;
Their blows were neither false, nor feigned sound,
Their wrath, their rage would let them use no art.
Their swords together clash with dreadful sound,
Their feet stand fast, and neither stir nor start;
They move their hands, steadfast their feet remain,
Nor blow, nor foil they struck; or thrust in vain †.
Butts, tilts, and tournaments, the images of warlike
fights, were the exercises of our forefathers.

This other exercise is so much the less noble, as it only

* In a duel betwixt two princes, cousins german, in Spain, the elder (says Pliny) by his craft and dexterity in arms, easily surmounted the awkward strength of the younger, lib. xxviii. c. 21.

† Tasso. Hier. cant. 12. stanz. 55

† Mr. Fairfax.

ly respects a private end; as it teaches us to ruin one another, against law and justice, and as it always produces mischievous effects. It is much more worthy and becoming to exercise ourselves in things that strengthen, than that weaken our governments, and that tend to the public safety, and common glory. * Publius Rutilius Confus was the first that taught the soldiers 'to handle their arms with skill, and joined art to valour; not for the use of private quarrel, but for war, and the quarrels of the people of Rome.' A popular and civil art of fencing. And, besides the example of Cæsar, who commanded his men to shoot chiefly at the faces of Pompey's Gens-d'Armes, in the battle of Pharsalia; a thousand other commanders have also bethought them to invent new forms of weapons, and new ways of striking and defending, according as occasion should require.

But as Philopœmen 'condemned wrestling,' wherein he excelled, 'because the preparatives, that were therein employed, were different from those that appertain to military discipline, to which alone he conceived men of honour ought to apply themselves;' so it seems to me, that this address, to which we form our limbs, those writhings and motions young men are taught in this new school, are not only of no use, but rather contrary and hurtful to the manner of fight in battle: And also our people commonly make use of particular weapons, peculiarly designed for duel. And I have known, when it has been disapproved, that a gentleman, challenged to fight with rapier and poniard, should appear in the equipage of a man at arms; or that another should go thither with his cloak instead of a poniard. It is worthy of consideration, that Lachez in Plato, speaking of learning to fence after our manner, says 'That he never knew any great soldier come out of that school, especially the masters of it †:' And, indeed, as to them, our own experience tell us as much. As to the rest, we may, at least, conclude, that they are abilities of no relation nor correspondence. And, in the education of the children of his government, Plato * prohibits the art of boxing,

* Valer. Max. lib. ii. c. 3. sect. 2.

† Plato's dialogue, intitled, Lachez, p. 247.

‡ De legibus, lib. vii. v. 630.

boxing, introduced by Amicus and Epeius, and that of wrestling, by Antæus and Cecyo *, because ' they ' have another end, than to render youth fit for the service of the war, and contribute nothing to it.' But I see I am too far strayed from my theme.

The emperor Maurice, being advertised, by dreams and several prognostics, that one Phocas, an obscure soldier, should kill him, questioned his son-in-law, Philip, ' who this Phocas was, and what was his nature, qualities, and manners; ' and as soon as Philip, amongst other things, had told him, ' That he was cowardly and ' timorous, ' the emperor immediately thence concluded, ' That he was a murderer and cruel.' ' What is it that makes tyrants so bloody? 'Tis only the sollicitude for their own safety, and that their faint hearts can furnish them with no other means of securing themselves, than in exterminating those that may hurt them, even so much as the women, for fear of a scratch.

Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet †.

He strikes at all, who every one does fear.

The first cruelties are exercised for themselves: From thence springs the fear of a just revenge, which afterwards produces a series of new cruelties, to obliterate one by the other. Philip king of Macedon, who had so much upon his hands with the people of Rome, agitated with the horror of so many murders committed by his appointment, and doubting of being able to regain his credit with so many families, whom he had, at diverse times, offended; ' resolved to seize all the children of ' those he had caused to be slain, to dispatch them daily ' one after another, and thereby establish his own repose.' Good subjects become any place; and therefore I, who more consider the weight and utility of what I deliver, than its order and connexion, need not fear, in this place, to bring in a fine story, tho' it be a little by the bye; for when such subjects are rich in their own native beauty, and are able to justify themselves, the least end of a hair will serve to draw them into my discourse.

' Amongst

* Or rather Cécyo; Κεκυθίων, Plato de legib. lib. vii. ibid.

† Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i. v. 182.

' Amongst others condemned by Philip, Herodicus*,
 ' prince of Thessaly, had been one. He had, more-
 ' over, after him, caused his two sons-in-law to be put
 ' to death, who each left a son, very young, behind
 ' him. Theoxena and Archo were the two widows.
 ' Theoxena, tho' warmly courted to it, could not be
 ' persuaded to marry again: Archo was married to Po-
 ' ris, the greatest man of the Ænians, and by him had
 ' a great many children, which she, dying, left all
 ' minors. Theoxena, moved with a maternal charity
 ' towards her nephews, that she might have them under
 ' her own conduct and protection, married Poris: When
 ' presently comes a proclamation of the king's edict.
 ' This bold-spirited mother, suspecting the cruelty of
 ' Philip, and afraid of the insolence of the soldiers to-
 ' wards these lovely young children, was so bold as to
 ' declare, that she would rather kill them with her own
 ' hands, than deliver them up. Poris, startled at this
 ' protestation, promised her to steal them away, and to
 ' transport them to Athens, and there commit them to
 ' the custody of some trusty friends of his. They took
 ' therefore the opportunity of an annual feast, which
 ' was celebrated at Ænia, in honour of Æneas, and
 ' thither they went. Having appeared by day at the
 ' public ceremonies and banquet, they stole, the night
 ' following, into a vessel laid ready for that purpose, to
 ' make their escape by sea. The wind proved contrary,
 ' and finding themselves, in the morning, within sight
 ' of the land from whence they had launched over night,
 ' were pursued by the guards of the port; which Poris
 ' perceiving, he laboured all he could to hasten the ma-
 ' riners to put off. But Theoxena, frantic with affection
 ' and revenge, in pursuance of her former resolution,
 ' prepared both arms and poison, and exposing them be-
 ' fore them; Go to, my children, * said she, death is
 ' now the only means of your defence and liberty, and
 ' will administer occasion to the gods to exercise their
 ' sacred justice: These drawn swords, these full cups,
 ' will open you the way to it: Be of good courage;
 ' and thou, my son, who art the eldest, take this steel
 ' into thy hand, that thou may'st the more bravely die.

' The

* The intire story is taken from Titus Livy, lib. xi. c. 4.

• The children having, on one side, so hearty a coun-
• fellow, and the enemy at their throats on the other,
• ran, all of them eagerly, to dispatch themselves with
• what was next to hand; and, when half dead,
• were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, proud of having
• so gloriously provided for the safety of her children,
• clasping her arms, with great affection, about her hus-
• band's neck; let us, my dear, 'said she,' follow these
• boys, and enjoy the same sepulchre they do: And,
• thus embraced, they threw themselves headlong, over-
• board, into the sea; so that the ship was carried back,
• without its owners, into the harbour.'

Tyrants, at once both to kill, and to make their anger felt, have pumped their wit to invent the most lingering deaths: They will have their enemies dispatched, but not so fast that they may not have leisure to taste their vengeance: And herein they are mightily perplexed; for, if the torments they inflict are violent, they are short; if long, they are not then so painful as they desire; and thus torment themselves, in contriving how to torment others. Of this we have a thousand examples in antiquity, and I know not whether we, un-awares, do not retain some traces of this barbarity.

All that exceeds a simple death, appears to me mere cruelty; neither can our justice expect, that he, whom the fear of death, by being beheaded or hanged, will not restrain, should be any more awed by the imagination of a slow fire, burning pincers, or the wheel: And I know not, in the mean time, whether we do not drive them into despair; for in what condition can the soul of a man be, who expects death four and twenty hours together, whether he is broke upon a wheel, or, after the old way, nailed to a cross? Josephus relates, 'that, in
' the time of the war which the Romans made in Judæa,
' happening to pass by where they had, three days be-
' fore, crucified certain Jews, he knew three of his own
' friends amongst them, and obtained the favour of ha-
' ving them taken down. Two of them, 'he says,'
' died, the third lived a great while after.'

Chacondilas, a writer of good credit, in the records he has left behind him of things that happened in his time, and near him, tells us, as one of the most exces-

five torments, of what the emperor Mèchmed often practised, viz. 'cutting off men in the middle, by the diaphragma, with one blow of a scymeter; by which it followed, that they died, as it were, two deaths at once, and both the one part, 'says he,' and the other were seen to stir, a great while after, with the torment.' I do not think there was any great suffering in this motion: The torments that are most dreadful to look on, are not always the greatest to endure; and, I think, those that other historians relate to have been practised upon the Epirôt lords, to be more cruel, who were 'condemned to be flay'd alive, by piece-meal, in so malicious a manner, that they continued in this misery a fortnight: As also these other two that follow.

'Cræsus, having caused a gentleman, the favourite of his brother Pantaleon, to be seized on, carried him into a fuller's shop *, where he caused him to be scratched and carded with cards and combs belonging to that craft till he died. George Sechel, chief commander of the peasants of Poland, who committed so many mischiefs, under the title of the Crusado, being defeated in battle, and taken by the Vayvod of Transylvania, was three days bound naked upon the rack, exposed to all sorts of torments that any one could inflict upon him; during which time, many other prisoners were kept fasting. At last, while he was living, and looking on, they made his beloved brother Lucat, for whose safety alone he intreated, by taking upon himself the blame of all their evil actions, to drink his blood, and caused twenty of his most favoured captains to feed upon him, tearing his flesh in pieces with their teeth, and swallowing the morsels: the remainder of his body and bowels, as soon as he was dead, were boiled, and others of his followers compelled to eat them.'

C H A P. XXVIII. *All things have their SEASON.*

SUCH as compare Cato the censor with the younger Cato that killed himself, compare two beautiful natures, and forms much resembling one another. The first acquired his reputation several ways, and excelled in

* Herodot. lib. i. p. 44.

in 'Military exploits, and the utility of his publick vocations?' but the virtue of the younger, besides, that it were blasphemy to compare any to him in vigour, was much more pure. For who can acquit the censor of envy and ambition, after 'he had dared to offend the honour of Scipio, a man, in goodness and all excellent qualities, infinitely beyond him, or any other of his time?'

That which they report of him, amongst other things, that, in his extreme old-age, he set himself to learn the Greek tongue, with so greedy an appetite, as if he 'was to quench a long thirst,' does not seem to make for his honour; it being properly what we call being twice a child.

'All things have their season,' good and bad, and a man may say his Pater-noster out of time; as they accused T. Quintus Flaminius *, 'that, being general of an army, he was seen praying apart in the time of a battle that he won.'

† *Imponet finem sapiens, et rebus honestis* ‡. not a rule
i. e.

The wise man limits even decent things. Eudemonidas, seeing Xenocrates, when very old, still very intent upon his school lectures, 'When || will this man be wise, said he, if he yet learn?' And Philopæmen, to those who cried up king Ptolemy, for injuring his person, every day; to the exercise of arms: 'It is not, said he, commendable in a king of his age to exercise himself in those things, he ought now really to imploy them. The young are to make their preparations, the old to enjoy them, say the sages;' and the greatest vice they observe in us is, 'That our desires incessantly grow young again; we are always beginning again to live.'

Our studies and desires should sometimes be sensible of old-age: We have one foot in the grave, and yet our appetites and pursuits spring up every day.

Tu secunda marmora

Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri

Immemor,

* See Plutarch's comparison of him to Philopæmen, sect. 2.

† Juv. Sat. vi. v. 344.

‡ The words which Montaigne applies here to his own design, have another meaning in the original.

|| Plutarch's notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

Immemor, struis domos *.

i. e.

When death, perhaps, is near at hand,
Thou fairest marbles dost command
But cut for use, large poles to rear,
Unmindful of thy sepulchre.

The longest of my designs is not above a year's extent;
I think of nothing now but my end; abandon all new
hopes and enterprises; take my last leave of every
place I depart from, and every day dispossess myself of
what I have. † 'Olim jam nec perit quicquam mihi,
* nec acquiritur; plus superest viatici, quam viæ:' 'I
now shall neither lose, nor get; I have more where-
with to defray my journey, than I have way to go.

Vixi, et queni dederat cursum fortuna peregi †.

i. e.

I've liv'd, and finish'd the career.

Which fortune had prescrib'd me here.

To conclude; 'tis the only comfort I find in my old-
age, that it mortifies in me several cares and desires,
wherewith life is disturbed; the care how the world
goes; the care of riches, of grandeur, of knowledge,
of health, and myself. There are some who are learn-
ing to speak, at a time when they should learn to be
silent for ever. A man may always study, but he must
not always go to School. What a contemptible thing is
an old man learning his A, B, C!

*Diversos diversa juvant, non omnibus annis,
Omnia conveniunt.*

i. e.

For several things do several men delight,
And all things are not for all ages right.

If we must study, let us follow that study which is
suitable to our present condition, that we may be able
to answer as he did; who being asked, 'To what end
' he studied in his decrepit age? That I may go the
' better off the stage, said he, and at greater ease.'
Such a study was that of the younger Cato, at feeling
his end approach, when he was reading Plato's discourse
of the immortality of the soul: Not as we are to believe,
that

* Hor. lib. ii. ode 18. v. 17, &c. † Sen. epist. 77.
† Æneid. lib. iv. v. 653.

that he was not, long before, furnished with all sorts of provision for, such a departure; for of assurance, an established will and instruction he had, more than Plato had in all his writings; his knowledge and courage were, in this respect, above philosophy. He employed himself thus, not for the service of his death, but as a man whose sleep is not once disturbed in the importance of such a deliberation; he also, without choice and change, continued his studies with the other customary actions of his life. The night that he was denied the prætorship he spent in play: That wherein he was to die he spent in reading: The loss either of life, or of office, was all one to him.

C H A P. XXIX. *Of Virtue.*

I Find, by experience, that there is a vast difference betwixt the starts and sallies of the mind, and a resolute and constant habit; and very well perceive, there is nothing we may not do, nay, even to the surpassing the divinity itself, says a certain person, forasmuch as it is more for to render himself impassible or dispassionate, than to be such by his original condition; and even to be able to conjoin to man's imbecillity and frailty a godly resolution and assurance. But this is by fits and starts: And, in the lives of those heroes of times past, there are sometimes miraculous sallies, and such as seem infinitely to exceed our natural strength, but they are indeed sallies; and 'tis hard to believe, that these so elevated qualities can be so thoroughly imprinted on the mind, that they should become common, and, as it were, natural to it: It accidentally happens, even to us, who are the most imperfect of men, that sometimes our mind gives a spring, when roused by the discourses or examples of others, much beyond its ordinary stretch; but 'tis a kind of passion, which pushes and pricks it on, and, in some sort, ravishes it from itself: But this whirlwind once blown over, we see, that it insensibly flags and slackens itself, if not to the lowest degree, at least so as to be no more the same; insomuch as that, upon every trivial occasion, the losing of a bird, or the breaking of a glass, we suffer ourselves to be moved little less than one of the common people. I am of opinion, that, order, modera-

tion, and, constancy excepted, all things are to be done by a man that is, in general, very deficient. 'Therefore, say the sages, in order to make a right judgment of a man, you are chiefly to pry into his common actions, and surprise him in his every-day habit.'

Pyrrho, he who erected so pleasant a system of knowledge upon ignorance, endeavoured, as all the rest, who were really philosophers did, to make his life correspond with his doctrine: And because he maintained the imbecillity of human judgment to be so extreme, as to be incapable of any choice or inclination, and would have it perpetually wavering and suspending, considering and receiving all things as indifferent, 'tis said, 'That he always comported himself after the same manner and countenance * : 'If he had begun a discourse, he would always end what he had to say †, tho' the person he was speaking to was gone away: And, if he walked, he never turned out of his way for any impediment, being preserved from precipices, the jostle of carts, and other like accidents, by the care of his friends; for, to fear, or to avoid any thing, had been to contradict his own propositions, which deprived the senses themselves of all certainty and choice: Sometimes he suffered incisions and cauteries with so great constancy, as never to be seen so much as to wink his eyes.' 'Tis something to bring the soul to these imaginations; more to join the effects to it, and yet not impossible; but to conjoin them with such perseverance and constancy as to make them habitual, is certainly, in attempts so remote from the common use, almost incredible to be done. Therefore it was, 'that being, one day, found at his house terribly scolding at his sister, and being reproached, that he therein transgressed his own rules of indifference:' 'What, said he, must this foolish woman also serve for a testimony to my rules?' Another time, being to defend himself against a dog: It is, said he, 'very hard totally to put off man; and we must endeavour

* Diog. Laert. in Pyrrho's life, lib. ix. sect. 63.

† Yet Montaigne says, in the 12th chapter of Vol. II. that they who represent Pyrrho in this light, extend his doctrine beyond what it really was; and that, like a rational man, he made use of all his corporeal and spiritual faculties as rule and reason.

‘ your and force ourselves to encounter things, first by effects, but at the worst by reason and argument.’

About seven or eight years since, a countryman, yet living, at a village but two leagues from my house, having been long tormented with his wife’s jealousy, coming, one day, home from his work, and she welcoming him with her accustomed railing, he entered into so great a fury, ‘ that, with a sickle he had yet in his hand, he totally cut off all those parts that she was jealous of, and threw them in her face.’ And, ’tis said, ‘ that a young gentleman of our nation, brisk and amorous, having, by his perseverance, at last mollified the heart of a fair mistress, enraged, that, upon the point of fruition, he found himself unable to perform, and that,

————— *non viriliter*

*Iners fenile penis extulit caput **,

‘ so soon as ever he came home he deprived himself of it, and sent it to his mistress; a cruel and bloody victim for the expiation of his offence.’ If this had been done upon a mature consideration, and upon the account of religion, as the priests of Cybele did, what should we have said of so cholerick an action?

‘ A few days since, at Bergerac, within five leagues of my house, up the river Dordogne, a woman having, over-night, being abused and beaten by her husband, a peevish ill-conditioned fellow, resolved to escape from his ill usage at the hazard of her life; and going, so soon as she was up the next morning, to visit her neighbours, as she was wont to do, she dropped a hint of the recommendation of her affairs, she took a sister of hers by the hand, led her to a bridge, and after having taken leave of her, as it were in jest, without any manner of alteration or change in her countenance, she threw herself headlong into the river, and was there drowned. That which is the most remarkable, is, that this resolution was a whole night forming in her head.’

But it is quite another thing with the Indian women; for it being the custom there for the men to have many wives, and for the best beloved of them to kill herself at her husband’s decease, every one of them makes it the business

* Tib. lib. iv. eleg. pen. ad Priapum in veterum poet. catalectis.

business of her whole life to obtain this privilege, and gain this advantage over her companions; and the good offices they do their husbands, aim at no other recompence, but to be preferred in accompanying them in death.

Ubi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,

Uxorum fusis stat pia turba comis:

Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva sequatur

Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori,

Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,

*Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris *.*

i. e.

When to the pile they throw the kindling brand,
The pious wives with hair dishevell'd stand,
Striving which living shall accompany
Her spouse, and are asham'd they may not die;
Those thus preferr'd, their breasts to flame expose,
And their scorch'd lips to their dead husband's close.

A certain author, of our times, reports, that he has seen this custom in those oriental nations, that not only the wives bury themselves with their husbands, but even the slaves he has enjoyed also; which is done after this manner: 'The husband being dead, the widow may, if she will (but few do it) demand two or three months to order her affairs. The day being come, she mounts on horseback, dressed as fine as at her wedding, and with a chearful countenance, says, she is going to sleep with her spouse, holding a looking-glass in her left-hand, and an arrow in the other. Being thus conducted in pomp, accompanied with her kindred and friends, and a great concourse of people, with great joy, she is at last brought to the public place appointed for such spectacles: This is a spacious place, in the midst of which is a pit full of wood, and, adjoining to it, a mount raised four or five steps, to which she is led, and served with a magnificent repast; which being done, she falls to dancing and singing, and gives order, when she thinks fit, to kindle the fire; which being performed, she descends, and taking the nearest of her husband's relations by the hand, they walk together to the river close by, where she strips herself stark naked, and, having distributed her cloaths and jewels

* Propert. lib. iii. eleg. 13. v. 17, &c.

* jewels to her friends, plunges herself into the water,
 * as if to cleanse herself from her sins; coming out
 * thence, she wraps herself in a yellow linen robe,
 * five and twenty ells long, and again giving her hand
 * to her said husband's relations, they return back to
 * the mount, where she makes a speech to the people,
 * and recommends her children to them, if she hath any.
 * Betwixt the pit and the mount, there is commonly a
 * curtain drawn, to screen the burning furnace from
 * their sight; which some of them, to manifest the greater
 * courage, forbid. Having ended what she has to say,
 * a woman presents her with a vessel of oil, wherewith
 * to anoint her head, and her whole body; which having
 * done with, she throws it into the fire, and, in an
 * instant, leaps in after it: Immediately the people throw
 * a great many logs upon her, that she may not be long
 * in dying, and convert all their joy into sorrow and
 * mourning. If they are persons of mean condition, the
 * body of the deceased is carried to the place of sepul-
 * ture, and there placed sitting, the widow kneeling be-
 * fore him, and embracing him, while a wall is built
 * round them, which so soon as it is raised to the height
 * of the woman's shoulders, some of her relations come
 * behind her, and, taking hold of her head, twist her
 * neck, and, so soon as she is dead, the wall is presently
 * raised up, and closed, where they remain entombed.*

There was, in this same country, something like it in
 their Gymnosophists; for, not by constraint of others,
 not by the impetuosity of a sudden humour, but by the
 express profession of their order, their custom was, * so *
 * soon as they arrived at a certain age, or saw them-
 * selves threatened by any disease, to cause a funeral
 * pile to be erected for themselves, and on the top a neat
 * bed, where, after having joyfully feasted their friends
 * and acquaintance, they laid them down with such reso-
 * lution, that, when the fire was applied to it, they
 * were never seen to stir hand or foot; and after this
 * manner one of them, Calanus by name, expired in
 * the presence of the whole army of Alexander the
 * Great; and he was neither reputed holy, nor hap-
 * py amongst them, that did not thus destroy himself;
 dismissing

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1043. Tome 2. Amsterdam, 1707.

dismissing his soul, purged and purified by the fire, after having consumed all that was earthly and mortal. This constant premeditation of the whole life is that which makes the wonder.

Amongst our other controversies, that about fate is crept in, and to tie things to come, and even our own wills to a certain and inevitable necessity, we are yet upon this argument of time past; 'Since God foresees, that all things shall so fall out, as doubtless he does, it will then necessarily follow, that they must so fall out.' 'To which our masters reply,' 'That the seeing any thing come to pass, as we do, and as God himself also does, (for, all things being present with him, he rather sees, than foresees) is not to compel it to happen; nay, we see because things do fall out, but things do not fall out because we see: The events cause the knowledge, but the knowledge does not cause the events: That which we see happen, does happen; but it might have happened otherwise: And God, in the register of the causes of events, which he has in his prescience, has also those which we call accidental and voluntary, which depend upon the liberty he has given to our determination, and knows that we shall do amiss, because we would do so.'

I have seen a great many commanders encourage their soldiers with this fatal necessity: for, if our life be limited to a certain hour, neither the enemy's shot, nor our own boldness, nor our flight and cowardise, can either shorten or prolong it. This is easily said, but see who will put in practice; and, if it be so that a strong and lively faith draws along with it actions of the same, certainly this faith we so much brag of, is very light in this age of ours, unless the contempt it has of works, makes it disdain their company. So it is, that to this very purpose the * *Sieur de Joinville*, as credible a witness as any other whatever, tells us of the *Bedoins*, a nation amongst the *Saracens*, with whom the king *saint Lewis* had to do in the *Holy Land*, 'That they, in their religion, did so firmly believe the number of every man's days to be, from all eternity, prefixed, and set down by an inevitable predestination, that they went naked

* 10

* *Joinville's memoirs*, ch. 30. p. 120. Vol. I.

‘ to the wars, excepting a Turkish sword, and their bodies only covered with a white linen cloth : And for the greatest curse they could invent, when they were angry, this was always in their mouths, cursed be thou, as he that always arms himself for fear of death.’ This is a testimony of faith very much beyond ours. And of this sort is that also which two friars of Florence gave in our fathers days *. Being engaged in some controversy of learning, they agreed each to undergo a fiery trial, for the verification of his argument, in presence of all the people, and in the public square ; and all things were already prepared, and just upon the point of execution, when it was interrupted by an unexpected accident.

A young Turkish lord, having performed a notable exploit, in his own person, in the sight of both armies, that of Amurath, and that of Hunniades, ready to join battle, being asked by Amurath, ‘ who it was, that, in so tender and unexperienced years, (for it was his first sally into arms) had inspired him with so noble a courage, replied, that his chief tutor, for valour, was a hare: For being, said he, one day a hunting, I found a hare sitting ; and, though I had a brace of excellent greyhounds with me, yet, methought, it would be best, for sureness, to make use of my bow, for she sat very fair. I then let fly my arrows, and shot forty that I had in my quiver, not only without hurting, but without starting her from her form : At last I slipped my dogs after her, but to no more purpose than I had shot : By which I understood, that she had been secured by her destiny ; and that neither darts nor swords can wound without the permission of fate, which we can neither hasten, nor put back.’ This story may serve, by the way, to let us see how flexible our reason is to all sorts of images.

A personage advanced in years, name, dignity, and learning, boasted to me, that he had been induced to a certain very important change in his faith, by a strange, whimsical incitation, and also so very absurd, that I thought it much stronger, being taken the contrary way : He called it a miracle, I look upon it quite otherwise.

The

* Memoirs of Philip de Comines, lib. viii, c. 19.

The Turkish historians say, ' That the persuasion, rooted in those of their nation, of the fatal and unalterable prescription of their days, does manifestly conduce to the giving them great assurance in dangers ;' and I know a great prince, who makes very successful use of it ; whether it be, that he does really believe it, or that he makes it his excuse for so wonderfully hazard-ing himself, provided fortune be not too soon weary of her favour to him.

There has not happened, in our memory, a more admirable effect of resolution, than in those two who conspired the death of the prince of Orange *. 'Tis to be wondered, how the second, that executed it, could ever be animated to an attempt, wherein his companion, who had done his utmost, had had so ill success ; and, after the same method, and with the same arms, to go and attack a nobleman, armed with so fresh a handle for distrust, powerful in followers, and of bodily strength, in his own hall, amidst his guards, and in a city wholly at his devotion. He, doubtless, employed a very resolute arm, and courage inflamed with a furious passion ; A dagger is surer for striking home ; but by reason that more motion, and a stronger arm is required, than with a pistol, the blow is more subject to be put by, or hindered. That this man ran upon certain death, I make no great doubt ; for the hopes any one could flatter him withal, could not find place in any calm mind, and the conduct of his exploit does sufficiently manifest, that he had no want of that, any more than courage. The motives of so powerful a persuasion may be diverse, for our fancy does what it will, both with itself and us.

The execution that was done near Orleans, was nothing like this ; there was in that more of chance than vigour, the wound was not mortal, if fortune had not made it so ; and to attempt to shoot on horseback, and at a great distance, and at one whose body was in motion by the moving of his horse, was the attempt of a man who had rather miss his blow, than fail of saving himself, as was apparent by what followed after ; for he was so astonished and stupified with the thought of so desperate an execution, that he totally lost his judgment, both

to

* The founder of the republic of Holland.

to find his way to escape, and how to govern his tongue in his answers. What needed he to have done more than to fly back to his friends cross a river? 'Tis what I have done in less dangers, and what I think of very little hazard, how broad soever the river may be, provided your horse have good going in, and that you see, on the other side, good landing, according to the stream. The other, (viz. the prince of Orange's assassin) when they pronounced his dreadful sentence: 'I was prepared for this, said he, beforehand, and I will make you wonder at my patience.'

The Assassins, a nation dependant upon Phœnicia, are reputed, amongst the Mahometans, a people of great devotion, and purity of manners. They hold, that the nearest way to gain paradise, is to kill some one of a contrary religion; which is the reason they have often been seen, being but one or two, without arms, to run madly against powerful enemies, at the price of certain death, and without any consideration of their own danger. So was our count Raimond of Tripoli, assassinated (which word is derived from their name) in the heart of his city, during our enterprises of the holy war; and likewise Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, the murderers going to their execution with great pride and glory, that they had performed so brave an exploit.

C H A P. XXX. *Of a monstrous CHILD.*

I Shall tell the story simply, and leave it to the physicians to reason upon it. Two days ago, I saw a child, which two men and a nurse, who called themselves the father, the uncle, and the aunt of it, carried about to get money by shewing it, because it was so strange a creature. It was, as to all the rest, of a common form, and could stand upon its feet, walk and gabble much like other children of the same age; it had never, as yet, taken any other nourishment but from the nurse's breasts, and what, in my presence, they tried to put into the mouth of it, it only chewed a little, and spit out again without swallowing; the cry of it seemed, indeed, a little odd and particular, and it was just fourteen months old. Under the breast it was joined to another child,

VOL. III.

M

that

that had no head, and that had the spine of the back stopped up, the rest intire; it had one arm shorter than the other, because it had been broken, by accident, at their birth; they were joined breast to breast, as if a lesser child was to clasp its arms about the neck of one something bigger. The part where they were joined together, was not above four fingers broad, or thereabouts, so that if you turned up the imperfect child, you might see the navel of the other below it, and the joining was betwixt the paps and the navel. The navel of the imperfect child could not be seen, but all the rest of the belly; so that all the rest that was not joined of the imperfect one, as arms, buttocks, thighs, and legs, hung dangling upon the other, and might reach to the mid-leg. The nurse, moreover, told us, that it urined at both bodies, and also that the members of the other were nourished, sensible, and in the same plight with that she gave suck to, excepting that they were shorter, and less. This double body, and the several limbs relating to one head, might be interpreted as a favourable prognostic to the king, of maintaining those various parts of our state under the union of his laws; but, lest the event should prove otherwise, 'tis better to let it alone, for in things already past, there is no divination; * *‘Ut quum facta sunt, tum ad conjecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur.’* ‘So as when they are come to pass, they should then, by some interpretation, be recalled to conjecture:’ As 'tis said of Epimenides, ‘that he always prophesied of things past †.’ I have lately seen a herdsman, in Medoc, of about thirty years of age, who has no sign of any genital parts; he has three holes by which he incessantly voids his water; he is bearded, has desire, and loves to stroke the women.

Those that we call monsters, are not so to God, who sees, in the immensity of his work, the infinite forms that he has therein comprehended: And it is to be believed, that this figure, which does astonish us, has relation to some other of the same kind, unknown to man. From a God of all wisdom, nothing but good, common, and

* Cic. de Divin. lib. ii. c. 31.

† Aristotle's rhetoric, lib. iii. c. 12.

and regular proceeds; but we do not discern the disposition and relation of things. * ‘Quod crebro videt, non miratur, etiamsi, cur fiat, nescit: Quod antè non videt, id, si evenerit, ostentum esse censet.’ ‘What man often sees, he does not admire, tho’ he be ignorant how it comes to pass: But, when a thing happens he never saw before, that he looks upon as a prodigy. What falls out contrary to custom, we say is contrary to nature; but nothing, whatever it be, is contrary to her. Let, therefore, this universal and natural reason expel the error and astonishment from us, that novelty brings along with it.

CHAP. XXXI. Of ANGER.

PLUTARCH is admirable throughout, but especially where he judges of human actions: What fine things does he say in the comparison of Lycurgus and Numa, upon the subject of our great folly in abandoning children to the care and government of their fathers! ‘The most of our civil governments, as Aristotle says, leave, to every one, after the manner of the Cyclops, the ordering of their wives and children, according to their own foolish and indiscreet fancy; and the Lacedæmonian and Cretensian are almost the only governments that have committed the discipline of children to the laws.’ Who does not see, that, in a state, all depends upon their nurture and education? And yet they are indiscreetly left to the mercy of the parents, let them be as foolish and ill-natured as they will.

Amongst other things, how oft have I, as I have passed along the streets, had a good mind to write a farce, to revenge the poor boys, whom I have seen flay’d, knocked down, and almost murdered, by some father or mother, when in their fury, and mad with rage? You see them come out with fire and fury sparkling in their eyes.

—*rabie jecur incendente feruntur*

Præcipites, ut saxa jugis abrupta, quibus mons

Subtrahitur, clivoque latus pendente recedit †.

* Cic. de Divin. lib. ii. c. 22. † Juvenal. sat. vi. v. 548. &c.

i. e.

With burning fury they are headlong borne,
As when great stones are from the mountains torn,
By which the cliffs depriv'd and lessen'd are,
And their steep sides are naked left, and bare.

{and, according to Hippocrates, 'the most dangerous
'maladies are they that disfigure the countenance'} with
a sharp and roaring voice, very often against those that
are but newly come from nurse, and there they are lamed
and stunned with blows, whilst our justice takes no cogni-
zance of it; as if these were not the mains and dislocati-
ons of the members of our commonwealth.

*Gratum est quòd patriæ civem, populoque dedisti,
Si facies ut patriæ sit idoneus, utilis agris,
Utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis *.*

i. e.

It is a gift most acceptable, when
Thou to thy country giv'st a citizen,
Provided thou hast had the knack of it,
To make him for his country's service fit;
Useful t' assist the earth in her increase,
And useful in affairs of war and peace.

There is no passion that so much perverts men's true judgment, as anger. No one would demur upon punishing a judge with death, who should condemn a criminal from a motive of anger; why then should fathers and school-masters be any more allowed to whip and chastise children in their anger? This is not correction, but revenge. Chastisement is instead of physic to children; and should we bear with a physician, that was animated against, and enraged at his patient?

If we would do well, we should never lay a hand upon our servants whilst our anger lasts; whilst the pulse beats high, and that we feel an emotion in ourselves, let us defer the business; for 'tis passion that commands, and passion that speaks then, not we: But faults seen through passion, appear much greater to us than they really are, as bodies do, being seen through a mist. He that is hungry, uses meat, but he that will make use of correction, should have no appetite, neither of hunger or thirst, to it. And, moreover, chastisements that are
inflicted

* Juvenal. sat. xiv. v. 60, &c.

inflicted with weight and discretion, are much better received, and with greater benefit by him who suffers them. Otherwise he will not think himself justly condemned by a man transported with anger and fury, and will alledge his master's excessive passion, his inflamed countenance, his unusual oaths, his turbulence, and precipitous rashness, for his own justification.

* *Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venæ,
Lumina Gorgonio sævius igne micant.*

i. e.

Rage swells the lips, with black blood fills the veins;
And in their eyes fire worse than Gorgons reigns.

Suetonius † reports, ' that, Caius Rabirius having been
' condemn'd by Cæsar, the thing that most prevailed upon
' the people (to whom he had appealed) to determine
' the cause in his favour, was, the animosity and vehemency that Cæsar had manifested in that sentence.

Saying is one thing and doing is another; we are to consider the sermon and the preacher apart. Those men thought themselves much in the right, who in our times have attempted to shake the truth of our church by the vices of her ministers; but she extracts her evidence from another source, for that is a foolish way of arguing, and would throw all things into confusion. A man whose morals are good may hold false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth, nay, though he believe it not himself. 'Tis doubtless a fine harmony when doing and saying go together; and I will not deny but that saying, when actions follow it, is of greater authority and efficacy, as Eudamidas said, hearing a philosopher talk of military affairs, ' † These things are finely said, but he
' that speaks them is not to be believed, for his ears have
' not been used to the sound of the trumpet.' And Cleomenes, hearing an orator declaiming upon valour, burst out into laughter, at which the other being angry, ' I
' should, said he to him, do the same if it were a swallow that spoke of this subject; but if it were an eagle
' I should willingly hear him.' I perceive, methinks, in the writings of the ancients, that he who speaks what

* Ovid. de art. lib. iii. v. 503, 504.

† Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. sect. 12.

‡ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

he thinks, strikes much more home than he that only dissembles. Hear Cicero speak of the love of liberty : Hear Brutus speak of it ; you may judge by his stile that he was a man who would purchase it at the price of his life. Let Cicero, the father of eloquence, treat of the contempt of death, and let Seneca do the same ; the first does languishingly drawl it out, so that you perceive he would make you resolve upon a thing on which he is not resolved himself. He inspires you not with courage, for he himself has none ; the other animates and inflames you.

I never read an author, even of those who treat of virtue and of actions, that I do not curiously examine what a kind of man he was himself. For the Ephori at Sparta ‘ * seeing a dissolute fellow propose wholesome
‘ advice to the people, commanded him to hold his
‘ peace, and intreated a virtuous man to attribute the
‘ invention to himself, and to propose it.’ Plutarch’s writings, if well understood, sufficiently speak their author ; and I think I know his very soul ; and yet I could wish that we had some better account of his life : And am thus far wandered from my subject, upon the account of the obligation I have to Aulus Gellius, for having left us in writing † this story of his manners, that brings me back to my subject of anger : ‘ A slave of his,
‘ a vicious ill-conditioned fellow, but who had the pre-
‘ cepts of philosophy sometimes rung in his ears, having,
‘ for some offence of his, been stripped, by Plutarch’s com-
‘ mand ; whilst he was whipping, muttered at first that it
‘ was without cause, and that he had done nothing to de-
‘ serve it ; but, at last, falling in good earnest to exclaim
‘ against, and to rail at his master, he reproached him,
‘ that he did not act as became a philosopher ; that he
‘ had often heard him say it was indecent to be angry,
‘ nay, had writ a book to that purpose ; and, that cau-
‘ sing him to be so cruelly beaten, in the height of his
‘ rage, totally gave the lye to his writings.’ To which Plutarch calmly and coldly answered, ‘ How, ruffian,
‘ said he, by what dost thou judge that I am now angry ?
‘ Does either my face, my colour, my voice, or my
‘ speech give any manifestation of my being moved ? I
‘ do

* Aul. Gell. lib. xviii. c. 3.

† Noct. Attic. lib. i. c. 26.

‘ do not think my eyes look fierce, that my countenance is disturbed, or that my voice is dreadful: Do I redden? Do I foam? Does any word escape my lips of which I ought to repent? Do I start? Do I tremble with wrath? For these, I tell thee, are the true signs of anger.’ And so, turning to the fellow that was whipping him, ‘ Lay on, said he, whilst this gentleman and I dispute.’ This is the story.

Archytas Tarentinus, returning from a war wherein he had been captain-general, found all things in his house in very great disorder, and his lands uncultivated, through the bad husbandry of his receiver, whom having sent for, ‘ * Go, said he, if I were not in wrath I would soundly drub you.’ Plato, likewise, being highly offended with one of his slaves, ‘ † gave Speusippus order to chastise him, excusing himself from doing it, because he was in anger.’ And Carillus, a Lacedæmonian, to a Helot who carried himself insolently and audaciously towards him ‘ ‡ By the Gods, said he, if I was not angry, I would immediately cause thee to be put to death.’

’Tis a passion that is pleas’d with, and flatters itself. How oft, when we have been wrongfully misled, have we, on the making a good defence or excuse, been in a passion at truth and innocence itself? In proof of which I remember a marvellous example of antiquity: ‘ § Piso, otherwise a man of very eminent virtue, being moved against a soldier of his, for that, returning alone from forage, he could give him no account where he had left his comrade, took it for granted that he had killed him, and presently condemned him to death. He was no sooner mounted upon the gibbet but behold his strayed companion arrives, at which all the army were exceeding glad; and after many caresses and embraces of the two comrades, the hangman
‘ carried

* See Tusc. Quest. lib. iv. c. 36.

† Senec. de Irâ, lib. iii. c. 12.

‡ Plutarch, in his notable sayings of the ancient kings, &c.

§ Montaigne, for what reason I know not, gives him a better character than Seneca, who, de Irâ, lib. i. c. 15. says, Though he was free from many vices, that he was ill-tempered and extremely rigorous.

‘carried both into Pifó’s presence, all the spectators believing it would be a great pleasure even to him himself; but it proved quite contrary; for, through shame and spite, his fury, which was not yet cool, redoubled; and, by a subtlety which his passion suddenly suggested to him, he made three criminal for having found one innocent, and caused them all to be dispatched; the first soldier, because sentence had passed upon him; the second, who had lost his way, because he was the cause of his companion’s death; and the hangman, for not having obeyed his order.’

Such as have had to do with testy women may have experienced into what a rage it puts them to see their anger treated with silence and coldness, and that a man disdains to nourish it. ‘The orator Célius was wonderfully cholerick by nature, insomuch that when a certain man supped in his company, of a gentle and sweet conversation, and who, that he might not move him, was resolved to approve and consent to all he said; he, impatient that his ill-humour should thus spend itself without aliment, ‘for God’s sake, said he, contradict me in something, that we may be two *.’ Women, in like manner, are only angry that others may be angry with them again, in imitation of the laws of love. – Phocion, to one that interrupted his speaking by sharp abuse, made no other return than silence, and gave him full scope to vent his spleen; and then, without any mention of this interruption, he proceeded in his discourse where he had left off before. No answer can nettle a man like such a contempt.

Of the most cholerick man I know in France (anger being always an imperfection, but more excusable in a soldier, for in that profession it cannot sometimes be avoided) I often say, that he is the most patient in bridling his passion, it agitates him with so great violence and fury,

† ——— *magno veluti cùm flamma sonore*
Virgea suggeritur costis undantis abeni,
Exultantque æstu latices, furit intus aquai,
Fumidus, atque altè spumis exuberat amnis,
Nec jam se capiti unda, volat vapor ater ad auras.

i. e.

* Senec. de irâ, lib. iii. c. 8.

† *Æneid*, lib. vii. v. 662, &c.

i. e.

So when unto the boiling cauldron's side
 A crackling flame of brush-wood is apply'd,
 The bubbling liquors there like springs are seen
 To swell, and foam to higher tides within;
 Above the brims they force their fiery way,
 Black vapours climb aloft, and cloud the day.

that he must of necessity cruelly constrain himself to moderate it; and, for my part, I know no passion which I could with so much violence to myself attempt to cover and support. I would not set wisdom at so high a price; and do not so much consider what he does, as how much it costs him not to do worse. Another boasted himself to me of his good-nature and behaviour, which is in truth very singular; to whom I replied, 'that it was indeed something, especially in persons of so eminent quality as himself, upon whom every one had their eyes, to appear always well-tempered to the world; but that the principal thing was to make provision for within, and for himself; and that it was not, in my opinion, very well to order his business inwardly to fret himself, which I was afraid he did, for the sake of maintaining this mask and moderation in outward appearance.' A man incorporates anger by concealing it, as Diogenes told Demosthenes, who, for fear of being seen in a tavern, withdrew himself the farther into it, * 'The more you recede, the farther you enter in.' I would rather advise that a man should give his servant a box of the ear a little unseasonably, than torture his mind by putting on such a sedate countenance; and had rather discover my passions than brood over them at my own expence; they grow less by being vented and expressed; and it is much better their point should operate outwardly than be turned towards ourselves. † 'Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt: & tunc perniciosissima, quum simulatâ sanitate subsidunt.' 'All vices are less dangerous when open to be seen, and then most pernicious when they lurk under a dissembled temper.'

I admonish all who have authority to be angry in my family, in the first place, to be sparing of their anger,
 and

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Diogenes the Cynic, lib. vi. sect. 34.

† Senec. epist. 56.

and not to lavish it upon every occasion; for that both lessens the weight and hinders the effect of it. Loud exclamation is so customary that every one despises it; and, that your clamour at a servant for a theft is not minded, because it is no more than what he has seen you make a hundred times, against him, for having ill washed a glass, or misplaced a stool. Secondly, that they do not spend their breath in vain, but make sure that their reproof reach the person in fault; for ordinarily they are apt to bawl before he comes into their presence, and continue scolding an age after he is gone;

* *Et secum petulans amentia certat.*

i. e.

And peevish madness with itself contends.
They quarrel with their own shadows, and push the storm in a place where no one is either chastised or interested, but in the clamour of their voice, which is unavoidable. I likewise, in quarrels, condemn those who huff and vapour without an adversary; such rhodomontades are to be reserved to discharge upon the offending party.

† *Mugitus veluti cum prima in prælia taurus
Terrificos ciet, atque irasci in cornua tentat,
Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque laceffit
Ictibus, & sparsa ad pugnam proludit arena.*

i. e.

Like angry bulls that make the valleys ring,
Press'd to the fight, with dreadful bellowing;
Which whet their horns against the sturdy oak,
And, kicking back their heels, the winds provoke;
And, tossing up the earth, a dust to raise
As furious preludes to ensuing frays.

When I am angry, my anger is very sharp, but withal very short, and as private as possible; I am indeed hasty and violent, but never am beside myself, so that I throw out all manner of injurious words at random, and without choice, and never consider properly to dart my raillery where I think it will give the deepest wound; for I commonly make use of no other weapon in my anger than my tongue. My servants have a better bargain of me

* Claudian. in Eutrop. lib. i. v. 237.

† *Æneid.* lib. xii. v. 103, &c.

me in great occasions than in little ones ; the latter surprise me ; and the mischief of it is, that, when you are once upon the precipice, it is no matter who gives you the push, for you are sure to go to the bottom ; the fall urges, moves, and makes haste of itself. In great occasions this satisfies me that they are so just every-one expects a warrantable indignation in me, and then I am proud of deceiving their expectation ; against these I gird and prepare myself ; they disturb my head, and threaten to crack my brain, should I give way to them. I can easily contain myself from entering into one of these passions, and am strong enough, when I expect them, to repel their violence, be the cause never so great ; but, if a passion once prepossess and seize me, it carries me away, be the cause ever so small ; which makes me thus indigent with those who may contend with me, viz. When they see me first moved, let me alone, right or wrong, I will do the same for them. The storm is only begot by the concurrence of resentments, which easily spring from one another, and are not born together. Let every-one have his own way, and we shall be always at peace: A profitable advice, but hard to practise. Sometimes also it falls out, that I put on a seeming anger, for the better governing of my family, without any real emotion. As age renders my humours more sharp, I study to oppose them ; and will, if I can, order it so, that for the future I may be so much the less peevish and hard to please, the more excuse and inclination I have to be so, although I have heretofore been reckoned amongst those that have the greatest patience.

A word, to conclude this chapter: Aristotle says ‘ That anger sometimes serves to arm virtue and valour.’ ’Tis likely it may be so, nevertheless, they who contradict him pleasantly answer, ‘ That ’tis a weapon of novel use ; for we move other arms, this moves us ; our hands guide it not, ’tis it that guides our hands ; it holds us, we hold not it.’

CHAP. XXXII. *Defence of SENECA and PLUTARCH.*

THE familiarity I have had with these two authors, and the assistance they have lent to my
age

age and to my book, which is wholly compiled of what I have borrowed from them, obliges me to stand up for their honour.

As to Seneca, amongst a million of pamphlets that those of the pretended reformed religion disperse abroad for the defence of their cause (and which sometimes proceed from a pen so good, that 'tis pity 'tis not employed in a better subject) I formerly saw one, which, in order to draw a complete parallel betwixt the government of our late poor King Charles the Ninth and that of Nero, compares the late cardinal of Lorraine with Seneca, in their fortunes (as they were both of them prime ministers to their princes); in their manners, conditions, and deportments, as having been very near alike. Herein, I think, he does the said lord cardinal a great honour; for, though I am one of those who have a great esteem for his wit, eloquence, and zeal for religion, and for the service of his king, and reckon it was his happiness to be born in an age wherein it was a thing so new, so rare, and also so necessary for the public weal, to have an ecclesiastical person, of so high birth and dignity, and so sufficient and capable for his place; yet, to confess the truth, I do not think his capacity by many degrees equal to Seneca's, nor his virtue either so pure, intire, or steady.

Now this book whereof I am speaking, to bring about its design, gives a very injurious description of Seneca, by reproaches borrowed from Dion the historian whose testimony I do not at all believe; for setting aside the inconsistency of this writer, who after having called Seneca in one place very wise, and in another a mortal enemy to Nero's vices, makes him elsewhere avaricious, an usurer, ambitious, effeminate, voluptuous, and a false pretender to philosophy. Seneca's virtue appears so lively and vigorous in his writings, and his vindication is so clear against any of these imputations, and particularly as to his riches and extraordinary expences, that I cannot believe any testimony to the contrary. And, besides, it is much more reasonable to believe the Roman historians in such things than the Greeks and foreigners. Now Tacitus and the others speak very honourably both of his life and death, and represent him to us a very excellent

cellent and virtuous personage in all things; and I will alledge no other reproach against Dion's report but this, which I cannot avoid, namely, that he has so crazy a judgment in the Roman affairs, that he dares to maintain Julius Cæsar's cause against Pompey, and that of Antony against Cicero.

Let us now come to Plutarch: John Bodinus is a good author of our time, and of much greater judgment than his cotemporary class of scribblers, so that he deserves to be carefully read and considered. I find him, though a little bold in that passage of his 'Method of History,' where he accuses Plutarch not only of ignorance (wherein I would have let him alone, this not being a subject for me to speak to) but 'That he oft writes things incredible and absolutely fabulous,' which are his own words: If he had simply said, 'That he writes things otherwise than they really are,' it had been no great reproach; for what we have not seen we receive from other hands, and take upon trust; and I see he purposely, sometimes, variously relates the same story; as the judgment of the three best captains that ever were, formed by Hannibal, which is given otherwise in the life of Flaminius, and another way in that of Pyrrhus: But to charge him with having believed things incredible and impossible, is to accuse the most judicious author in the world of want of discernment. And this is his example: As, says he, when * he relates that a Lacedæmonian boy suffered his bowels to be torn out by a fox-cub, which he had stolen, and kept it concealed under his coat till he fell down dead, rather than he would discover his theft.† In the first place, I find this example ill chosen, soasmuch as it is very hard to limit the efforts of the faculties of the soul, whereas we have better authority to limit and know the strength of the body; and therefore, if I had been as he, I should rather have chosen an example of this second sort; and there are some that are incredible: Amongst others, that which he relates of Pyrrhus, ‡ That, all over wounded as he was, he struck one of his enemies, who was armed from head to foot, so great a blow with his

* In the life of Lycurgus, c. 14. of Amyand's translation.

† In the life of Pyrrhus, c. 12.

‘ sword, that he clave him down from his crown to his
 ‘ seat, whereby the body was divided into two parts.’
 In this example I find no great miracle; nor do I admit
 of the excuse he makes for Plutarch, by his having ad-
 ded the words ‘ as ’tis said’, by way of caution to sus-
 pend our belief; for, unless it be in things received by
 authority, and from a reverence to antiquity or religion,
 he would never have himself admitted, nor proposed to
 us to believe, things incredible in themselves; and that
 the words ‘ as ’tis said’ are not put by him in this
 place to that effect, is easy to be seen, because he else-
 where relates to us, upon this subject, of the patience
 of the Lacedæmonian children, examples happening in
 his time, more unlikely to prevail upon our faith; as
 what Cicero has testified before him, who, he says, was
 upon the spot, ‘ * That, even to their times, there were
 ‘ children found, who, in the trial of patience which they
 ‘ were put to before the altar of Diana, suffered them-
 ‘ selves to be there whipped till the blood ran down
 ‘ their bodies, not only without crying out, but with-
 ‘ out so much as a groan; and some till they there volun-
 ‘ tarily lost their lives:’ † And that which Plutarch al-
 so, amongst an hundred other witnesses relates, viz.
 ‘ That, at a sacrifice, a burning coal being fallen into
 ‘ the sleeve of a Lacedæmonian boy, as he was censuring,
 ‘ he suffered his whole arm to be burned, till the smell
 ‘ of the broiling flesh was perceived by the assistants.’
 There was nothing, according to their custom, where-
 in their reputation was more concerned, nor which would
 expose them to more blame and disgrace, than the being
 taken in theft. I am so fully satisfied of the magnani-
 mity of those people, that Plutarch’s account does not
 only not appear to me, as it has to Bodinus, incredible,
 but I do not think it so much as rare and strange. The
 Spartan history is full of a thousand more cruel and rare
 examples, and is indeed all miracles in this view. Mar-
 cellinus reports, concerning theft, ‘ That, in his time,
 ‘ there was no sort of torments which could compel
 ‘ the

* Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 14.

† We have, says Cicero, seen numbers of their lads fighting
 with incredible fury, with their fists, heels, nails, and teeth, till
 they died, before they would own they were conquered. Life of
 Perthus, lib. v. c. 27.

‘ the Egyptians, when taken in this misdemeanor,
‘ though a people very much addicted to it *, so much
‘ as to tell their name.’

A Spanish peasant being put to the rack about the accomplices of the murder of the prætor Lucius Piso, cried out, in the height of the torment, ‘ † That his
‘ friends should not leave him, but look on without any
‘ sort of fear; forasmuch as no pain had power to force
‘ one word of confession from him:’ This was all they could get from him the first day. The next day, as they were leading him a second time to the torture, rushing with violence out of the hands of his guards, he furiously ran with his head against a wall, and beat out his brains.

Epicharis, ‡ having tired and glutted the cruelty of Nero’s guards, and undergone their burnings, their bastinadoes, and their engines a whole day together, without one syllable of confession of her conspiracy; being the next day brought again to the rack, with her limbs all bruised so that she could not stand, she put the lace of her robe, with a running noose, over one of the arms of her chair, and, suddenly slipping her head into it, with the weight of her own body, hanged herself: As she had the courage to die after that manner, is it not to be presumed that she purposely lent her life to the trial of her fortitude the day before, purely to mock the tyrant, and encourage others to the like attempt? And whoever will enquire of our light-horsemen what experiences they have had, in these our civil wars, will find examples of suffering and obstinacy in this miserable age of ours, and amongst the soft and effeminate crew; worthy to be compared with those we have now related of the Spartan virtue.

I know there have been simple persons amongst us, who have endured the soles of their feet to be broiled upon a grid-iron, their fingers-ends smashed to pieces with the cock of a pistol, and their bloody eyes squeezed out of their heads, by force of a cord twisted about their brows, before they would so much as consent to ransom. I saw

N 2

one

* Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. c. 16.

† Tacit. annal. lib. iv. c. 45.

‡ Idem. lib. xv. c. 57.

one left stark naked for dead in a ditch, his neck black and swelled, with a halter yet about it, with which they had dragged him all night at a horse's tail; his body pinked in a hundred places with stabs of daggers which had been given him, not to kill him, but to put him to pain, and to terrify him: Having endured all this, and even to being speechless and insensible, he resolved, as he himself told me, rather to die a thousand deaths (one of which indeed as to matter of suffering, he had already suffered) before he would promise any thing; and yet he was one of the richest husbandmen of all the country. How many have been seen patiently to suffer themselves to be burnt and roasted, for opinions taken upon trust from others, and by them not at all understood! I have known a hundred and a hundred women (for Gascony, they say, has a certain prerogative for obstinacy) whom you might sooner have made to eat fire, than quit an opinion they had conceived in anger. They are more exasperated by blows and constraint. And he that forged the story of the woman, who, in defiance of all correction, threats, and bastinadoes, ceased not to call her husband lousy knave; and, when she was plunged over head and ears in water, and durst not open her mouth for fear of being choaked, could yet lift her hands above her head and make a sign of cracking lice; feigned a tale, of which in truth we every day see a manifest image in the obstinacy of women; and obstinacy is the sister of constancy, at least in vigour and stability.

We are not to judge what is possible and what is not, according to what is credible and incredible to our apprehension, as I have said elsewhere: And it is a great fault, yet a fault most men are guilty of (which nevertheless I do not mention in regard to Bodinus) to make a difficulty of believing that in another, which they could not, or would not do themselves. Every one thinks that the sovereign stamp of human nature is imprinted in him, and that from him all others must take their rule; and that all proceedings, which are not like his, are feigned and false. Is any thing of another's actions or faculties proposed to him? The first thing he calls to the consultation of his judgment is his own example; and as matters go with him so they must of necessity do with all
the

the world besides. O dangerous and intolerable folly ! For my part I consider some men as very far beyond me, especially among the ancients ; and yet, though I clearly discern my inability to come near them by a mile, I do not forbear to keep them in sight, and to judge of what does elevate them so, of which I also perceive some seeds in myself ; as I also do of the extreme meanness of some other minds, which I neither am astonished at, nor yet do misbelieve. I very well perceive the turns those great souls take to raise themselves, and I admire their grandeur ; and those flights that I think the bravest I am glad to imitate, where, though I want wing, yet my judgment goes along with them.

The other example he introduces of things incredible, and wholly fabulous, delivered by Plutarch, is, ‘ * That Agesilaus was fined by the Ephori for having too far engrossed the hearts and affections of the citizens to himself alone.’ And herein I do not see what sign of falsity is to be found : But so it is that Plutarch there speaks of things that must needs be better known to him than to us ; and it was no new thing in Greece to see men punished and exiled only for being too acceptable to the people, witness the ostracism and petalism.

There is yet in this place another accusation laid against Plutarch, which I cannot well digest ; where he says, ‘ That he has faithfully matched Romans with Romans, and Greeks with Greeks ; but not the Romans with the Greeks witness, says he, Demosthenes and Cicero, Cato and Aristides, Sylla and Lyfander, Marcellus and Pelopidas, and Pompey and Agesilaus.’ Supposing that he has favoured the Greeks in giving them companions so unequal, which is really to attack what in Plutarch is most excellent, and most to be commended ; for in his parallels (which is the most admirable piece of all his works, and with which, in my opinion, he was himself the most pleased) the fidelity and sincerity of his judgments equal their depth and weight. He is a philosopher that teaches us virtue : Let us see whether we cannot defend him from this reproach of prevarication and falsity. All that I can imagine could give occasion to this censure, is the great and shining lustre

* In the life of Agesilaus, c. 1.

of the Roman names, with which we are captivated : It does not seem likely to us that Demosthenes could rival the glory of a consul, præconsul, and quæstor of that great republic ; but, if a man consider the truth of the fact, and the men in themselves, which is Plutarch's chiefest aim, and more to balance their manners, their natures, and parts, than their fortunes, I think, contrary to Bodinus, that Cicero and the elder Cato come short of the men with whom they are compared. I should sooner, for his purpose, have chosen the example of the younger Cato compared with Phocion, for in this couple there would have been a more likely disparity to the Roman's advantage. As to Marcellus, Sylla, and Pompey, I very well discern that their exploits of war are greater and more full of pomp and glory than those of the Greeks whom Plutarch compares with them ; but the bravest and most virtuous actions, no more in war than elsewhere, are not always the most renowned : I often see the names of captains obscured by the splendor of other names of less merit, witness Labienus, Ventidius, Telesinus, and several others : And, to take it that way, were I to complain, on the behalf of the Greeks, might I not say, that Camillus was so much less comparable to Themistocles, the Gracchi to Agis, and Cleomenes and Numa to Lycurgus ? But 'tis folly to judge of things that have so many aspects at one view.

When Plutarch compares them, he does not for all that make them equal. Who could more elegantly and sincerely have marked their distinction ? Does he parallel the victories, martial achievements, the power of the armies conducted by Pompey, and his triumphs, with those of Agesilaus ; ' I do not believe *, says he, that Xenophon himself, if he were now living, though he was allowed to write whatever pleased him, to the advantage of Agesilaus, would dare to bring them into comparison.' Where he speaks of comparing Lyfander to Sylla, ' There is †, says he, no comparison, either in the number of victories, or in the hazard of battles ; for Lyfander only won two naval victories, &c.' This is not to derogate from the Romans ; for, having only

* In the comparison of Pompey with Agesilaus,

† In his comparison of Sylla and Lyfander.

only simply named them with the Greeks, he can have done them no injury, whatever disparity soever there may be betwixt them: And Plutarch does not weigh them intirely one against another; there is no preference in the main; he only compares the pieces and circumstances one after another, and judges of every one separately; wherefore, if any one would convince him of partiality, he ought to pick out some one of those particular judgments, or say, in general, that he was mistaken in comparing such a Greek to such a Roman, when there were others more fit, and better resembling to be paralleled.

C H A P. XXXIII. *The Story of SPURINA.*

PHILOSOPHY thinks she has not ill employed her talent, when she has given the sovereignty of the soul, and the authority of checking our appetites to reason. Of these, they who judge, that there are none more violent than those which love breeds, are of the opinion, ‘ that they seize both body and soul, and possess the ‘ whole man;’ so that health itself depends upon them, and is the medicine sometimes constrained to pimp for them: But it might be said, on the contrary, that the mixture of the body brings an abatement and weakening to them, for such desires are subject to satiety, and capable of material remedies.

Many being determined to rid their souls from the continual alarms of this appetite, have made use of incision and amputation of the restless and unruly members: Others have subdued their force and ardour, by the frequent application of cold things, as snow and vinegar: The sack-cloths of our ancestors were used for this purpose, which was a cloth woven of horse-hair, whereof some made shirts, and others girdles to torture their reins. A prince, not long ago, told me, ‘ That, in ‘ his youth, upon a solemn festival in the court of king ‘ Francis I, where every-body was finely dressed, he ‘ would needs put on his father’s hair shirt, which ‘ was still kept in the house;’ but how great soever his devotion was, ‘ he had not patience to wear it till night, ‘ and was sick a long time after; adding withal, ‘ That ‘ he

' he did not think there could be any youthful heat so fierce, that the use of this receipt would not mortify ; and yet, perhaps, he never tried the most violent ; for experience shews us that such emotions often happen under coarse beggarly cloaths, and that a hair shirt does not always render those innocent that wear it.

Xenocrates proceeded with greater severity in this affair ; for his disciples, to make trial of his continency, having slipped Lais, that beautiful and famous courtesan, into his bed, quite naked, Xenocrates finding, without the charms of her beauty, and her alluring philtres, that, in spite of his reason, and philosophical rules, there was a war rising in his flesh, he caused those members of his to be burned, that he found consenting to this rebellion * : Whereas the passions, which wholly reside in the soul, as ambition, avarice, and the rest, find the reason much more to do, because it cannot there be relieved but by its own means ; neither are those appetites capable of satiety, but grow sharper, and increase by fruition.

The sole example of Julius Cæsar may suffice to demonstrate to us the disparity of those appetites ; for never was man more addicted to amorous delights : Of which one proof ; the delicate care he took of his person, to that degree as to use the most lascivious means to that end, which were then practised, viz. to have the hairs of his body twitched off by pincers, and to be daubed all over with perfumes of the extremest curiosity ; and he was a beautiful person in himself, of a fair complexion, tall and sprightly, full-faced, with brisk hazle eyes, if we may believe Suetonius † ; for the statues, that we see at Rome, do not, in all points, answer this description. Besides his wives, which he four times changed, without reckoning the amours of his childhood with Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, he had the maiden-head of the renowned Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, witness the little Cæsario that he had by her ‡. He also made love to Eunoe, Queen of Mauritania ; and, at Rome, to Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpitius ; to Lollia, the wife

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Xenocrates, lib. iv. sect. 7.

† In the life of Julius Cæsar, sect. 45.

‡ Plutarch in the life of Cæsar, c. 13. sect. 50.

wife of Gabinius; to Tortulla, the wife of Crassus; and even to Mutia, wife to the Great Pompey; which was the reason, the Roman historians say, that she was repudiated by her husband, which Plutarch owns he did not know: And the Curio's, both father and son, afterwards reproached Pompey, when he married Cæsar's daughter, 'That he had made himself son-in-law to a man who had made him a cuckold, and one that he himself was wont to call *Ægyftus* *.' Besides all these, he kept Servilia, Cato's sister, and mother to Marcus Brutus, from whence every one believes the great affection he had to Brutus did proceed, by reason that he was born at a time when his birth was likely to happen. So that I have reason, methinks, to take him for a man extremely given to this debauch, and of a very amorous constitution: But the other passion of ambition, with which he was also exceedingly infected, arising in him to contend with the former, soon compelled it to give way.

And here calling to mind Mahomet, who subdued Constantinople, and totally exterminated the Grecian name, I do not know where these two passions are so evenly balanced, being equally an indefatigable lecher and soldier; but where they both meet in his life, and jostle one another, the quarrellsome passion always gets the better of the amorous passion: And this, tho' it was out of its natural season, did not regain an absolute sovereignty over the other, till he came to be very old indeed, and unable to undergo the fatigues of war.

What is related, for a contrary example, of Ladislaus, King of Naples, is very remarkable; that, being a great captain, valiant and ambitious, he proposed to himself, for the principal end of his ambition, the execution of his pleasure, and the enjoyment of some rare beauty, which he obtained, and thereby his death; for having, by a close and tedious siege, reduced the city of Florence to so great distress, that the inhabitants were glad to capitulate; he was content to set them free, provided they would deliver up to him a most beautiful virgin, whom he had heard of in their city. They were forced to yield her to him, and by a private injury to avert the public ruin. She was the daughter of a physician of eminence

* Suetonius in Cæsar's life, sect. 250.

eminence in his time, who, finding himself involved in so foul a necessity, resolved upon a high attempt; for as every one was setting a hand to trick up his daughter, and to adorn her with ornaments and jewels, to render her agreeable to this new lover; he also gave her a handkerchief, most richly wrought, and of an exquisite perfume, (an implement they never go without in those parts) which she was to make use of in their first approaches. This handkerchief, which he had the art to poison, coming to be rubbed between the chafed flesh and open pores, both of the one and the other, so suddenly infused its poison, that their warm sweat soon turned into a cold sweat, and they expired in one another's arms.

But I return to Cæsar: His pleasures never made him steal one minute, nor turn one step aside from occasions that offered for its aggrandisement. That passion was so sovereign in him, over all the rest, and with such absolute authority possessed his soul, that it guided him at pleasure. In earnest, it troubles me, when (as to every thing else) I consider the greatness of this man, and the wonderful parts wherewith he was endued; learned to such a degree, in all sorts of knowledge, that there is hardly any one science of which he has not written: He was so great an orator, that many have preferred his eloquence to that of Cicero; and he, I conceive, did not think himself inferior to him in that particular; for his two *Anti-Cato's* were chiefly writ to counter-balance the eloquence that Cicero had expended in his *Cato*. As to the rest, was ever soul so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his? And, doubtless, it was embellished with many rare seeds of virtue, I mean, innate and natural, and not put on.

He was singularly sober, and so far from being delicate in his diet, that Oppius relates, how ‘that, having one day at table, physical, instead of common oil, in some sauce set before him, he eat heartily of it, that he might not put his entertainer out of countenance *.’ Another time he caused his baker to be whipped, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than common. Cato himself was wont to say of him, ‘That he

* was

* Cæsar's life by Suetonius.

‘ was the first sober man that took a course to ruin his ‘ country.’ And as to the same Cato’s calling him, one day, Drunkard, it fell out thus: Being both of them in the senate, at a time when Catiline’s conspiracy was in question, of which Cæsar was suspected, one came and brought a letter sealed up: Cato * believing that it was some intelligence from the conspirators, ‘ called him to ‘ deliver it into his hand,’ which Cæsar was constrained to do to avoid farther suspicion. This proved to be a love-letter, that Servilia, Cato’s sister, had written to him; which Cato having read he threw, it back to him, saying, ‘ There, drunkard, take it.’ This, I say, was rather a word of disdain and anger, than an express reproach of this vice, as we often rate those that anger us, with the first injurious words that come into our mouths, though by no means applicable to those we are offended at. To which may be added, that the vice which Cato cast in his dish, is wonderfully near a-kin to that wherein he had caught Cæsar; for Bacchus and Venus, according to the proverb, ‘ agree like hand in glove;’ but, with me, Venus is most sprightly when I am most sober.

The examples of his mildness and clemency to those by whom he had been offended, are infinite; I mean, besides those he gave during the time of the civil wars, which, as plainly enough appears by his writings, he practised to cajole his enemies, and to make them less afraid of his future dominion and victory. But I must also say, that, if these examples are not sufficient proofs of his natural good temper, they, at least, manifest a marvellous confidence and magnanimity in this personage. He has often sent back whole armies after having overcome them, to his enemies, without ransom, or deigning so much as to bind them by oath, if not to favour him, at least no more to bear arms against him. He has, three or four times, taken some of Pompey’s captains prisoners, and as oft set them at liberty †. Pompey declared all those to be his enemies, who did not follow him to the war, and he proclaimed all those to be his friends, who sat still, and did not actually take arms
against

* Plutarch in the life of Cato of Utica, ch. 7.

† Cæsar’s life, by Suetonius, sect. 75.

against him. To such captains of his, as ran away from him to alter their condition, he sent, moreover, their arms, horses, and equipage. The cities he had taken by force, he left at full liberty to take which side they pleased, imposing no other garrison upon them, but the memory of his mildness and clemency. He gave strict charge, on the day of his great battle of Pharsalia, that, without the utmost necessity, no one should lay a hand upon the citizens of Rome. These, in my opinion, were very hazardous proceedings; and 'tis no wonder, if those in our civil war, who, like him, fight against the antient state of their country, do not follow his example; they are extraordinary means, such as only Cæsar's fortune and his admirable foresight could happily conduct. When I consider his incomparable magnanimity, I excuse victory, that it could not disengage itself from him, even in that most unjust and wicked cause. To return to his clemency; we have many strong examples of it in the time of his government, when, all things being reduced to his power, he had no more need to dissemble. Caius Memmius had writ very severe orations against him, which he as sharply answered: Yet he soon after used his interest to make him consul. Caius Calvus, who had composed several injurious epigrams against him, having employed his friends to mediate a reconciliation with him, Cæsar, of his own accord, wrote first to him. And our good Catullus, who had so ruffled him, under the name of Mamurra, coming to make his excuses to him, he made him, the same day, sup with him at his table. Having intelligence of some who spoke ill of him, he did no more but, in a public oration, declare that he had notice of it. He also less feared his enemies than he hated them. Some conspiracies and cabals that were made against his life, being discovered to him, he satisfied himself, in publishing by proclamation, 'that they were known to him,' without further prosecuting the conspirators.

As to the respect he had to his friends; Caius Oppius being with him upon a journey, and finding himself ill, 'he left him the only lodging he had for himself, and lay all night upon the hard ground in the open air.' As to his justice; 'he put a beloved servant of his to death for
' lying

‘lying with a noble Roman’s wife, though there was no complaint made.’ Never had man more moderation in his victory, nor more resolution in his adverse fortune.

But all these good inclinations were stifled and spoiled by his furious ambition, by which he suffered himself to be so far transported, that a man may easily maintain, that that passion was the rudder whereby all his actions were steered: Of a liberal man, it made him a public robber, to supply his bounty and profusion, and made him utter this vile and most unjust saying, ‘That, if the most wicked and profligate persons in the world, had been faithful in serving him towards his advancement, he would cherish and prefer them to the utmost of his power, as much as the best of men.’ It intoxicated him with such excessive vanity, that he dared to boast, in the presence of his fellow-citizens, ‘That he had made the great commonwealth of Rome a name without body, and without form;’ and to say, ‘That his answers, for the future, should stand for laws;’ and also to receive the body of the senate, coming towards him, sitting; to suffer himself to be adored, and to have divine honours paid to him in his own presence. To conclude, this sole vice, in my opinion, spoiled, in him, the richest fund of good-nature that ever was, and has rendered his name abominable to all good men, for aiming to erect his glory upon the ruins of his country, and the subversion of the greatest and most flourishing republic the world shall ever see. There might, on the contrary, many examples be produced of great men, whom pleasures have made to neglect the conduct of their affairs, as Mark Antony, and others; but where should love and ambition be in equal balance, and come to jostle with equal forces, I make no doubt but the last would have the turn of the scale.

But to return to my subject: ’Tis a very great point to bridle our appetites by the discourse of reason, or, by violence, to constrain our members within their duty: But to lash ourselves for our neighbour’s interest, and not only to divest ourselves of the charming passion that tickles us, and of the pleasure we feel in being agreeable to others, and courted and beloved of every one; but

also to conceive a hatred and aversion to the charms which produce that effect, and to condemn our beauty because it inflames another, is what, I confess, I have few examples of. This, indeed, is one: Spurina, a young man of Tuscany,

*Qualis gemma micat fulvum quæ dividit aurum,
Aut collo decus, aut capiti, vel quale per artem
Inclusum buxo, aut Oricia Terebintho,
Lucet ebur* *.—

i. e.

As a gem shines in yellow gold enchain'd,
On neck, or head, for decoration plac'd;
Or as by art iv'ry does lustre get
Amidst the meaner foil of sable jet.

being endowed with singular beauty, and so excessive, that the chastest eyes could not chasterly behold its lustre; displeased with himself for leaving so much flame and fever as he every-where kindled, without relief, entered into a furious spite against himself, and those rich endowments nature had so liberally conferred upon him; as if a man were responsible to himself for the faults of others: And purposely flashed and disfigured, with many wounds and scars, the perfect symmetry and proportion that nature had so curiously imprinted in his face †. To give my free opinion, I more admire than honour such actions: Such excesses are enemies to my rules.

The design was conscientious and good, but, I think, a little defective in prudence. What if his deformity served afterwards to make others guilty of the sin of hatred, or contempt, or of envy, at the glory of so commendable an action; or of calumny, interpreting this humour a mad ambition? Is there any form from whence vice cannot, if it will, extract occasion to exercise itself one way or another? It had been more just, and also more noble, to have made of these gifts of God a subject of exemplary virtue and regularity.

They who secrete themselves from the common offices, from that infinite number of crabbed and double-meaning rules that fetter a man of strict honesty in civil life,

* *Æneid*. lib. x. v. 134, &c.

† *Val. Max.* in externis, lib. iv. sect. 1.

life, are, in my opinion, very discreet, what peculiar severity soever they impose upon themselves in so doing. 'Tis, in some sort, a kind of dying to avoid the pain of living well. They may have other reward; but the reward of the difficulty I never could think they had, nor that in uneasiness there can be any thing beyond keeping a person's self upright in the waves of the busy world, truly and exactly performing and answering all parts of his duty. 'Tis peradventure more easy for a man to live clear from the whole sex, than to maintain himself exactly in all points in the company of his wife; and a man may more incuriously slip into want than abundance, duly dispensed. Custom, carried on according to reason, has in it more of sharpness than abstinence has: Moderation is a virtue that has more work than sufferance. The well-living of Scipio has a thousand fashions, that of Diogenes but one. This as much excels the ordinary lives in innocency, as the most exquisite and accomplished excel that in utility and force.

C H A P. XXXIV. *Observations on JULIUS CÆSAR's Methods of making War.*

'TIS said of many great leaders, ' That they have had certain books in particular esteem, as Alexander the great, Homer; Scipio Africanus, Xenophon; Marcus Brutus, Polybius; Charles the fifth, Philip de Comines; and 'tis said, that, in our times, Machiavel is elsewhere in repute;' but the late Marshal Strossy, who took Cæsar for his man, doubtless made the best choice; for in truth this book ought to be the breviary of every great soldier, as being the true and sovereign pattern of the military art. And, moreover, God knows with what grace and beauty he has embellished that rich subject, with such pure, delicate, and perfect expression, that, in my opinion, there are no writings in the world comparable to his in this respect. I will here record some rare and peculiar passages of his wars that remain in my memory.

His army being in some consternation upon the rumour that was spread of the great forces which king Juba was leading against him, instead of abating the ap-

prehesion which his soldiers had conceived at the news, and of lessening the strength of the enemy, having called them all together to reanimate and encourage them, he took a quite contrary method to what we are used to do; for he told them, ‘* That they should trouble themselves no more with enquiring after the enemy’s strength, for that he was certainly informed of it.’ And then he mentioned a number much surpassing both the truth and the report that was rumoured in his army. In this he followed the advice of Cyrus in Xenophon; forasmuch as the imposition is not of so great importance to find an enemy weaker than we expected, as it is to find him really very strong, after having been made to believe that he was weak.

It was his way to accustom his soldiers simply to obey, without taking upon them to controul, or so much as to speak of their captain’s designs; which he never communicated to them but upon the point of execution; and he took a delight, if they discovered any thing of what he intended, immediately to change his orders to deceive them; and, to that purpose, when he had assigned his quarters in a particular place, he often passed forward and lengthened his march, especially if it was foul weather.

The Swiss, in the beginning of his wars in Gaul, having sent to him to demand a free passage through the Roman territories; though he resolved to hinder them by force, he nevertheless spoke kindly to the messengers, and took some days to return an answer, in order to make use of that respite for assembling his army together. These silly people did not know how good a husband he was of his time; for he often repeats it, ‘That it is the excellency of a captain to seize the critical juncture;’ and his diligence in his exploits is, in truth, unparalleled and incredible.

As he was not very conscientious in taking advantage of an enemy under colour of a treaty of agreement, he was as little in this, that he required no other virtue in a soldier but valour, † and seldom punished any other faults but mutiny and disobedience.

After

* Suetonius in the life of Julius Cæsar, c. 66.

† Ibidem, c. 67.

After his victories he often gave them all manner of liberty, dispensing them, for some time, from the rules of military discipline, saying withal, ' That he had soldiers so well trained up, that, though powdered and perfumed, they would run furiously to battle.'

In truth, he loved to have them richly armed, and their furniture to be engraved, gilt, and silvered over, to the end that the care of saving their arms might engage them to a more obstinate defence.

When he harangued them, he called them by the name of fellow-foldiers, as we do to this day; which his successor Augustus reformed, supposing he had only done it upon necessity, and to cajole those who only followed him as volunteers;

* ——— *Rheni mibi Cæsar in undis,
Dux erat, hic socius, facinus quos inquinat, æquat.*
i. e.

Great Cæsar, who my gen'ral did appear
Upon the banks of Rhine, 's my fellow here;
For wickedness, where once it hold does take,
All men whom it defiles does equal make.

but that this carriage was too low for the dignity of an emperor and general of an army; and therefore he brought up the custom of calling them soldiers only.

With this courtesy Cæsar mixed great severity, to keep them in awe. The ninth legion having mutinied near to Placentia, he ignominiously cashiered them, though Pompey was yet on foot, and received them not again to grace till after many supplications: He quieted them more by authority and boldness than by gentle ways. In that place where he speaks of his passage over the Rhine towards Germany, he says, ' † That, thinking it unworthy of the honour of the Roman people to wade over his army in vessels, he built a bridge, that they might pass over dry foot.' There it was that he built that wonderful bridge, of which he gives so particular a description; for he is no where so fond of displaying his own actions, as in representing to us the subtlety of his inventions in such mechanical performances.

O 3

I

* Lucan, lib. v. v. 289.

† De bello Gallico, lib. iv. c. 2.

I have also observed this, that he was fond of giving exhortations to the soldiers before a battle; for, where he would shew, that he was either surprized, or reduced to a necessity of fighting, he always brings in this, 'That he had not so much as leisure to harangue his army.' Before that great battle with those of Tournay, * Cæsar, says he, having given order for every thing else, presently ran where fortune carried him to encourage his men, and, meeting the tenth legion, had no more time to say any thing to them but this, That they should remember their wonted valour, and not be astonished, but bravely sustain the enemy's shock; and, as the enemy already approached within a dart's cast, he gave the signal of battle; and, going suddenly thence elsewhere to encourage others, he found that they were already engaged. That, by his own account of it, his tongue indeed did him notable service upon several occasions; and his military eloquence was in his own time so highly reputed, that many of his army collected his harangues, by which means there were volumes of them preserved a long time after him. He had so particular a grace in speaking, that they who were particularly acquainted with him, and Augustus amongst others, hearing those orations read, could distinguish even to the phrases and words that were none of his.

The first time that he went out of Rome with any public command, he arrived in eight days at the river Rhone †, having with him in his coach a secretary or two before him, who were continually writing; and one that carried his sword behind him. Yet, as if he had nothing to do but to drive on, having been every-where victorious in Gaul, he speedily left it, and, following Pompey to Brundisium, in eighteen days time he subdued all Italy, and returned, from Brundisium to Rome: from Rome he marched into the very heart of Spain, where he surmounted extreme difficulties in the war against Afranius and Petreius, and in the long siege of Marseilles; from thence he returned into Macedonia, beat the Roman army at Pharsalia, passed from thence, in pursuit of Pompey, into Egypt, which he also subdued;

* De bello Gallico, lib. iii. c. 3.

† Plutarch in Cæsar's life, c. 5.

ed; from Egypt he went into Syria and the territories of Pontus, where he fought Pharnaces; from thence into Africa, where he defeated Scipio and Juba; and again brushed through Italy into Spain, where he defeated Pompey's sons.

* *Ocyor & cæli flammis, & tigride sætâ.*

† *Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice præceps
Cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
Proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu,
Exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque,
Involvens secum.*

i. e.

Swifter than lightning, or the furious course
Of the fell tygers when she is a nurse.
As when a fragment from a mountain torn
By raging tempests, or a torrent borne;
Or sapp'd by time, or loosen'd from the roots,
Prone thro' the void the rocky ruin shoots;
Rolling from crag to crag, from steep to steep,
Down sink at once the shepherds and the sheep;
Involv'd alike, they rush to nether ground,
Stunn'd with the shock they fall, and, stunn'd, from
earth rebound.

Speaking of the siege of Avaricum, he says, '† That
' it was his custom to be night and day with the pio-
' neers.' In all enterprizes of consequence he recon-
noitred in person, and never brought his army to a
place which he had not first viewed. And, if we may
believe Suetonius §, when he passed over into England,
' he was the first man that sounded the passage.'

He was wont to say, 'That he more valued a victory
' obtained by counsel than force.' And in the war
against Petreius and Afranius, fortune presenting him
with a very manifest occasion of advantage, he declined
it, saying, 'That he hoped with a little more time, and
' less hazard, to overthrow his enemies.' He there also
performed a notable part, in commanding his whole ar-
my to pass the river by swimming, without any manner
of necessity.

* *rapuit-*

* Lucan. lib. v. v. 405.

† De bell. Gall. lib. vii. c. 3.

† Virg. Æn. lib. xii. v. 684.

§ In Jul. Cæs. sect. 58.

* ——— *rapuitque ruens in prælia miles*
Quod fugiens timuisset iter; mox uda receptis
Membra sœvent armis, gelidosque à gurgite, cursu
Restituunt artus.

i. e.

The soldiers rushed through a pass to fight,
 Which would have terrify'd them in a flight;
 Then with their arms their wet limbs cover o'er,
 And their numb'd joints by a swift race restore.

I find him a little more wary and considerate in his enterprizes than Alexander; for the latter seems to seek and run headlong upon dangers like an impetuous torrent, which rushes against and attacks every-thing it meets, without choice or discretion.

† *Sic tauri-formis volvitur Aufidus,*
Qui regna Dauni perfluit Appuli,
Dum sævit borrendamque cultis
Diluuiem meditatur agris.

i. e.

So the biforked Aufidus amain
 Doth roar and foam along th' Apulian plain,
 When it with rage and swelling floods abounds,
 Threat'ning a deluge to the tilled grounds.

And indeed he was a general in the flower and first vigour of life, whereas Cæsar took to the wars at a ripe and well-advanced age. Moreover, Alexander was of a more sanguine, hot, and choleric constitution, which he also inflamed with wine, from which Cæsar was very abstinent; yet, where necessity required, never did any man venture his person more than he: And, for my part, methinks I read in many of his exploits a certain resolution to throw himself away, to avoid the shame of being overcome. In his great battle with those of Tournay, he charged up to the head of the enemy without his shield, when he saw the van of his army begin to give ground; which he did also at several other times. Hearing that his men were surrounded, he passed through the enemy's army in disguise, to encourage them with his presence ‡. Having crossed over to Dyrrachium with a
 very

* Lucan. lib. iv. v. 151, &c.

† Horat. lib. iv. ode 14. v. 25, &c.

‡ Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. sect. 58.

very slender force, and seeing the remainder of his army, which he left to Antony's conduct, flow in following him, he attempted alone to repass the sea in a very great storm; and stole away to reassemble the rest of his forces, the ports on the other side being seized by Pompey, who was master of all that sea. And as to what he performed by main force, there are very many exploits too hazardous for the rational part of war; for with how weak a force did he undertake to subdue the kingdom of Egypt, and afterwards to attack the forces of Scipio and Juba, ten times greater in number than his! Those people had I know not what of more than human confidence in their fortune; and he was wont to say, 'That men must execute, and not deliberate upon great enterprises.' After the battle of Pharsalia, when he had sent his army away before him into Asia, and was passing the streight of the Hellespont in one single vessel, he met Lucius Cassius at sea, with ten stout men of war, where he had the courage not only to lay by for them, but to bear up to them, and, summoning Cassius to yield, made him surrender.

Having undertaken that furious siege of Alexia, where there were fourscore thousand men in garrison, and all Gaul was in arms to raise the siege, having set an army on foot of a hundred and nine thousand horse *, and of two hundred and forty thousand foot, what a boldness and mad confidence was it in him, that he would not give over his attempt, but resolved to oppose two so great difficulties at once, which nevertheless he sustained! And, after having won that great battle against those without, he soon reduced those within to his mercy. The same happened to Lucullus, at the siege of Tigranocerta, against king Tigranes; but the hazard was not the same, considering the effeminacy of those with whom Lucullus had to deal.

I will here set down two rare and extraordinary events concerning this siege of Alexia; one, that the Gauls, having drawn their powers together to encounter Cæsar, after they had made a general muster of all their forces, resolved, in their council of war, to dismiss a good part
of

* Cæsar de bello Gallico, lib. vii. c. 12. where only 8000 horse are mentioned.

of this great multitude, that they might not fall into confusion: This example of fearing to be too numerous is new; but, to take it right, it stands to reason that the body of an army should be of a moderate number, and restrained to certain bounds, both in regard to the difficulty of providing for them, and the difficulty of governing and keeping them in order; at least it is very easy to make it appear, by example, that armies so monstrous in number have seldom done any thing to the purpose. According to the saying of Cyrus in Xenophon, ' 'Tis not the number of men, but the number of good men that gives the advantage;' the remainder serving rather to embarrass than assist. And Bajazet principally grounded his resolution of giving Tamerlane battle, contrary to the opinion of all his captains, upon this, that his enemy's numberless number of men gave him assured hopes of their being in confusion. Scanderbeg, a very good and expert judge in these matters, was wont to say, ' That ten or twelve thousand faithful fighting men were sufficient for a good leader, to secure his reputation on all military occasions.' The other thing, which seems to be contrary both to the custom and rationale of war, is, that Vercingetorix, who was made general of all the revolted parts of Gaul, should go shut himself up in Alexia; for he who has the command of a whole country, ought never to confine himself, but in such an extremity when the only hopes he had left was in the defence of that city; otherwise he ought to keep himself always at liberty, that he may have means to provide in general for all parts of his government.

To return to Cæsar: He grew in time more slow, and more considerate, as his friend Oppius does witness; conceiving that he ought not easily to hazard the glory of so many victories, which one misfortune might deprive him of. The Italians, when they would reproach the rashness and fool-hardiness of young people, call them ' Bisognosi d'honore,' ' Necessitous of honour;' and they say, that, being in so great a want and dearth of reputation, they have reason to seek it at what price soever; which they ought not to do, who have acquired enough already. There may be some just moderation in this thirst of glory, and some satiety in this appetite, as well

as in other things; and there are enow who practise it. He was far from the religious scruple of the ancient Romans, who would never prevail in their wars, but by mere valour; and yet he was more conscientious than we should be in these days, and did not approve of all sorts of means to obtain a victory. In the war against Ariovistus, whilst he was parleying with him, there happened a tumult between the two armies, which was occasioned by the fault of Ariovistus's cavalry, wherein, though Cæsar saw he had a very great advantage over his enemy, he would not lay hold on't, lest he should be reproached with a treacherous action. He was always wont to wear a rich garment, and of a shining colour in battle, that he might be the more remarkable. He always carried a stricter hand over his soldiers, and kept them closer together when near an enemy.

When the antient Greeks would accuse any one of extreme insufficiency, they would say, in a common proverb, 'That he could neither read nor swim.' Cæsar also was of this opinion, that swimming was of great use in war, and himself found it so, for, being to use diligence, he commonly swam over the rivers in his way; for he loved to march on foot, as also did Alexander the Great. Being in Egypt forced, for safety, to go into a little boat, and so many people * leaping in with him, that it was in danger of sinking, tho' he was of an advanced age, he chose rather to commit himself to the sea, and swam to his fleet, which lay two hundred paces off, holding, in his left-hand, his pocket-book above water, lest it should be wet, and drawing his coat-armour in his teeth, that it might not fall into the enemy's hand.

Never had any general so much credit with his soldiers: In the beginning of the civil wars, his centurions offered to find, every one, a man at arms at his own charge, and the foot soldiers to serve him at their own expence; those who were best able, moreover, undertaking to defray the most necessitous. The late admiral Chastillion furnished us the like case in our civil wars; for the French of his army laid out money out of their own purses to pay the foreigners that were with them.

There

* Suet in J. Cæfare, sect. 64.

There are but rarely found examples of so ardent and so ready and affection amongst the soldiers of old times, who kept strictly to the ancient police. Passion has a more absolute command over us than reason; and yet it happened, in the war against Hannibal, that, after the generous example of the people of Rome in the city, the soldiers and captains refused their pay in the army; and, in Marcellus's camp, those who would receive any, were branded with the name of Mercenaries. Having come by the worst near Dyrrachium, his soldiers came and offered themselves to be chastised and punished, so that he was more inclined to comfort than reprove them.

One single cohort of his withstood four of Pompey's legions above four hours together, till it was almost demolished with arrows, of which there were an hundred and thirty thousand found in the trenches *. A soldier, called Scæva, who commanded at one of the avenues, invincibly maintained his ground, having lost an eye, besides being wounded in one shoulder and one thigh, and his shield shot in two hundred and thirty places. It happened, that many of his soldiers, being taken prisoners, rather chose to die than promise to take the contrary side. When Granus Petronius was taken by Scipio, in Africa, Scipio, having put his comrades to death, sent him word, 'That he gave him his life, for he was a man of quality, and a quæstor;' Petronius sent answer back, 'That Cæsar's soldiers were wont to give life to others †, and not to receive it, and immediately, with his own hand, killed himself.'

Of their fidelity there are infinite examples; amongst which, that of those who were besieged in Salona, a city that stood for Cæsar against Pompey, is not, for the rarity of an accident that there happened, to be forgot. Marcus Octavius kept them close besieged; they within being reduced to the extremest necessity of all things, so that, to supply the want of men, most of them being either slain or wounded ‡, they had set all their slaves at liberty, and had been constrained to cut off all the women's hair, to twist instead of cordage, besides a wonderful

* Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. sect. 58. Cæsar makes the number but thirty thousand. † Plutarch in the life of Cæsar, c. 5.

‡ Cæsar. bell. civil. lib. i. c. 3.

derful dearth of victuals, yet they continued resolute never to yield: After having drawn the siege to a great length, by which Octavius was grown more negligent, and less attentive to his enterprise, they made choice of one day about noon, and, having first placed the women and children upon the walls to make a show, they sallied upon the besiegers with such fury, that, having routed the first, second, and third corps, and afterwards the fourth, and then the rest, and beaten them all out of their trenches, they pursued them even to their ships; and Octavius himself was forced to fly to Dyrrachium, where Pompey lay. I do not, at present, remember, that I have met with any other example, where the besieged ever gave the besiegers a total defeat, and won the field; nor that a sally ever was attended with a pure and entire victory.

C H A P. XXXV. *Of Three good Women.*

THEY don't run thirteen to the dozen, as every one knows, and especially in the duties of marriage; for that is a bargain full of so many nice circumstances, that 'tis hard for a woman's will to keep it long: men, tho' their condition be something better under that tie, have yet enough to do: The true touchstone and test of a happy marriage respects the time of their cohabitation only, whether it has been constant, mild, loyal, and commodious.

In our age, women commonly reserve the publication of their good offices, and their vehement affection for their husbands, till they have lost them; or, at least, then it is that they deign to give proofs of their goodwill: A too slow testimony, and that comes too late; by which they rather manifest, that they never loved them till dead. Their life is full of combustion, their death full of love and courtesy: As fathers conceal their affections from their children, women likewise conceal theirs from their husbands to maintain a modest respect. This is a mystery I do not relish; 'tis to much purpose that they scratch themselves, and tear their hair. I whisper in a waiting-woman's, or a secretary's ear, 'How were they? How did they live together?' I always

have that saying in my head, 'Jactantius morient, quæ minus dolent : ' They make the most ado, who are ' least concerned.' Their whimpering is offensive to the living, and vain to the dead : We should willingly give them leave to laugh after we are dead, provided they will smile upon us whilst we are alive. Is it not enough to make a man revive in spite, that she who spit in my face whilst I was, shall come to kiss my feet when I am no more ? If there be any honour in lamenting a husband, it only appertains to those who smiled upon them whilst they had them ; let those who wept during their lives, laugh at their deaths, as well outwardly as inwardly : Moreover, never regard those blubbered eyes, and that pitiful voice ; but consider her deportment, her complexion, and the plumpness of her cheeks under all those formal veils ; 'tis there the discovery is to be made. There are few who do not mend upon't, and health is a quality that cannot lye : That starched and ceremonious countenance looks not so much back as forward, and is rather intended to get a new husband, than to lament the old. When I was a boy, a very beautiful and virtuous lady, who is yet living, and the widow of a prince, had, I know not what, more ornament in her dress than our laws of widowhood will well allow ; which being reproached withal, as a great indecency, she made answer, ' That it was because she was not cultivating more friendships, and would never marry again.'

I have here, not at all dissenting from our custom, made choice of three women, who have also expressed the utmost of their goodness and affections about their husbands deaths ; yet are they examples of another kind than are now in use, and so severe, as will hardly be drawn into imitation.

The younger Pliny * had, near a house of his in Italy, a neighbour, who was exceedingly tormented with certain ulcers in his private parts : His wife, seeing him so long to languish, intreated that he would give her leave to see and at leisure to consider of the state of his disease ; adding, that she would freely tell him what she thought of it : This permission being obtained, she curiously

* Ep. 24. lib. 6.

riously examined the business, found it impossible he could ever be cured, and that all he was to expect, was a great while to linger out a painful and miserable life; and therefore, as the most sure and sovereign remedy, she resolutely advised him to kill himself: But finding him a little tender and backward in so rude an attempt: ‘Do not think, my dear, said she, that I have not an equal feeling of the torments which I see thou endurest, and that, to deliver myself from them, I will not myself make use of the same remedy I have prescribed to thee: I will accompany thee in the cure, as I have done in the disease; fear nothing, but believe that we shall have pleasure in this passage that is to free us from so many miseries, and go off happily together.’ Having said this, and roused up her husband’s courage, she resolved that they should throw themselves headlong into the sea, out of a window that leaned over it; and that she might maintain, to the last, the loyal and vehement affection where-with she had embraced him during his life, she would yet have him die in her arms; but for fear they should fail, and lest they should loose their hold in the fall, and thro’ fear, she tied herself fast to him by the waist, and so gave up her own life to procure her husband’s repose. This was a woman of a mean family, and, even amongst that condition of people, ’tis no very new thing to see some examples of uncommon good-nature.

———*extrema per illos*

*Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit *.*

i. e.

From hence did justice take her flight, and here
The prints of her departing steps appear.

The other two are noble and rich, where examples of virtue are rarely lodged. Arria, the wife of Cecina Pætus, a consular person, was the mother of another Arria, the wife of Thrasea Pætus, whose virtue was so renowned in the time of Nero, and, by means of this son-in-law, the grand-mother of Fannia: For the resemblance of the names of these men and women, and their fortunes, has led many into a mistake. This first Arria (her husband Cecina Pætus having been made prisoner by

P 2

some

* Virg. Georg. lib. ii. v. 473.

some of the emperor Claudius's people, after Scribonianus's defeat, whose party he had embraced in the war) 'begged of those who were carrying him prisoner to Rome, that they would take her into their ship, where she should be of much less charge and trouble to them than a great many persons they must otherwise have to attend her husband, and that she alone would undertake to serve him in his chamber, his kitchen, and all other offices *.' But they refused her, wherefore she put herself into a fishing boat she hired on a sudden, and in that manner followed him from Sclavonia. Being come to Rome, Junia, the widow of Scribonianus, one day, considering the resemblance of their fortunes, and accosting her in the emperor's presence, in a familiar way, she rudely repulsed her with these words, 'Shall I, said she, speak to thee, or give ear to any thing thou sayest; to thee, in whose lap Scribonianus was slain, and thou yet alive?' These words, with several other signs, gave her friends to understand, that she would undoubtedly dispatch herself, impatient of supporting her husband's fortune. And Thrasea, her son-in-law, beseeching her not to throw away herself, and saying to her, 'What! If I should run the same fortune that Cécina has done, would you that your daughter, my wife, should do the same?' 'Would I! replied she, yes, yes, I would, if she had lived as long, and in as good agreement with thee as I have done with my husband.' These answers made them more careful of her, and to have a more watchful eye on her deportment. One day, having said to those that looked to her, 'Tis to much purpose that you take all this pains to prevent me; you may indeed make me die an ill death, but to keep me from dying is not in your power;' and, suddenly rushing from a chair wherein she sat, she ran her head madly, with all her force, against the next wall, by which blow being laid flat in a swoon, and very much wounded, after they had with much ado brought her to herself, 'I told you, said she, that, if you refused me some easy way, I should find out another, how painful soever.' The conclusion of so admirable a virtue was thus: Her husband Pætus, not having resolu-

on

* Plin. ep. 16. lib. iii.

on enough of his own to dispatch himself, as he was by the emperor's cruelty enjoined; one day, amongst others, having first employed all the reasons and exhortations which she thought most prevalent, to persuade him to it, she snatched the ponyard he wore from his side, and, holding it ready in her hand, to make short of her admonitions, 'Do thus, Pætus,' said she; and in the same instant gave herself a mortal stab in her breast, and then, drawing it out of the wound, presented it to him, ending her life with this noble, generous, and immortal saying, 'Pæte, non dolet,' 'Pætus, it hurts me not;': having only strength to pronounce those never to be forgotten words.

Castâ suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,

Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis:

Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit;

*Sed quod tu facies, id mihi, Pæte, dolet *.*

i. e.

When the chaste Arria gave the reeking sword,

That had new gor'd her heart, to her dear lord;

Pætus, the wound I've made hurts not, quoth she;

The wound which thou wilt make, 'tis that hurts me.

The action was much more noble in itself, and of a richer dye than the poet could express it; for she was so far from being deterred by her husband's wound and death, and her own, that she had been the promotress and adviser of both; but, having performed this high and courageous enterprise for her husband's only convenience, she had, even in the last gasp of her life, no other concern but for him, and for dispossessing him of the fear of dying with her. Pætus presently struck himself to the heart with the same weapon, ashamed, I believe, to have stood in need of so dear and precious an example.

Pompeia Paulina, a young and very noble Roman lady, had married Seneca in his extreme old age. Nero, his hopeful pupil, sent his guards to denounce the sentence of death to him which was performed after this manner: When the Roman emperors of those times had condemned any man of quality, they sent to him, by their officers, to chuse what death he would, and to make that

* Mart. lib. i. ep. 14.

election within such or such a time, which was limited, according to the mettle of their indignation, to a shorter or longer respite, that they might therein have leisure to dispose of their affairs; and sometimes depriving them of the means of doing it, by the shortness of the time; and, if the condemned seemed unwilling to submit to the order, they had people ready at hand to execute it, either by cutting the veins of the arms and legs, or by compelling them to swallow a draught of poison: But persons of honour would not stay this necessity, and made use of their own physicians and surgeons for this purpose.

* Seneca, with a calm and steady countenance, heard the charge, and then called for paper to write his will, which being by the captain denied, he turned himself towards his friends, saying to them, ' Since I cannot leave you any other acknowledgment of the obligation I have to you, I leave you, at least, the best thing I have, namely, the image of my life and manners, which I intreat you to keep in memory of me; that, to doing, you may acquire the glory of sincere and real friends.' And therewithal, one while appeasing the sorrow he saw them in, with gentle words, and then raising his voice to reprove them; ' What, said he, are become of all our fine precepts of philosophy? What are become of all the provisions we have so many years laid in against the accidents of fortune? Was Nero's cruelty unknown to us? What could we expect from him who had murdered his mother and his brother, but that he should put his governour to death, who had bred him up and educated him?' After having spoke these words in general, he turned himself towards his wife, and, embracing her fast in his arms, as, her heart and strength failing her, she was ready to sink down with grief, he begged of her, ' For his sake to bear this accident with a little more patience, telling her, that now the hour was come wherein he was to shew, not by any more argument and reason, but by effect, the fruit he had reaped from his studies; and that he really embraced his death, not only without grief but with joy: Wherefore, my dearest, said he, do not dishonour it with thy tears, that it may not seem as if thou lovest thyself more than

* Tacit. annal. lib. xv. c. 61, 62.

‘ than my reputation. Moderate thy grief, and comfort thyself in the knowledge thou hast had of me and of my actions, leading the remainder of thy life in the same virtuous manner thou hast hitherto done.’ To this Paulina, having a little recovered her spirits, and warmed her great soul with a most generous affection, replied, ‘ No, Seneca, said she, I am not a woman to suffer you to go without my company in such a necessity; I will not have you to think that the virtuous examples of your life have not yet taught me how to die well; and when can I ever better, or more decently do it, or more to my own desire, than with you? And therefore assure yourself I will go along with you.’ Seneca, taking this so amiable and glorious resolution of his wife exceeding kindly at her hands, and being also willing to free himself from the fear of leaving her exposed to the mercy and cruelty of his enemies after his death; ‘ I have, Paulina, said he *, sufficiently instructed thee in what would serve thee happily to live; but thou more covetest, I see, the honour of dying: In truth, I will not grudge it thee; the constancy and resolution in our common end may be the same, but the beauty and glory of thy part is greater.’ This said, the surgeons at the same time cut the veins of both their arms, but, because those of Seneca being more shrunk up, as well with old age as abstinence, made his blood to flow too slowly, he moreover commanded them to open the veins of his thighs; and, lest the torments he endured from it might pierce his wife’s heart, and also to free himself from the affliction of seeing her in so sad a condition, after having taken a very affectionate leave of her, ‘ he intreated she would suffer them to carry her into the next room,’ which they accordingly did; but, all these incisions being not enough to make him die, he commanded Statius Anneus †, his physician, to give him a draught of poison, which had not much better effect; for, by reason of the weakness and coldness of his limbs, it could not reach to his heart, wherefore they were forced to superadd a very hot bath; and then feeling his end approach, whilst he had breath, he continued excellent discourses

* Tacit. annal. lib. xv. c. 63.

† Idem, ibid. c. 64.

discourses upon the subject of his present condition, which his secretaries wrote down, as long as they could hear his voice; and his last words were long after in high honour and esteem amongst men, and it was a great loss to us, that they were not reserved down to our times: Then, feeling the last pangs of death, with the bloody water of the bath he bathed his head, saying, 'This water I dedicate to Jupiter the deliverer.' Nero, being presently advertised of all this, fearing lest the death of Paulina, who was one of the best descended ladies of Rome, and against whom he had no particular enmity, should turn to his reproach, he sent back orders *, in all haste, to bind up her wounds, which her attendants, without his knowledge, had done before; she being already half dead, and without any manner of sense. Thus, though she lived, contrary to her own design, it was very honourably, and consistent with her own virtue; her pale complexion ever after manifesting how much of her vital spirit was run out of her wounds.

These are my three very true stories, which, I think, I find as diverting, and as tragic, as any of those we make of our own heads wherewith to entertain the common people; and I wonder they who are addicted to such relations, do not rather cull out ten thousand very fine stories, which are to be found in very good authors, that would save them the trouble of invention, and be more useful and entertaining. And whosoever would compose a whole play from them would need to add nothing of his own but the connection only, as it were the folder of metal; and might, by this means, compile a great many true events of all sorts, disposing and diversifying them according as the beauty of the work should require, after the same manner almost as Ovid has patched up his metamorphosis of that infinite number of various fables.

In this last couple this is moreover worthy of consideration, 'That Paulina voluntarily offered to lose her life for the love of her husband, and that her husband had formerly also forbore dying for the love of her.' There is no mighty counterpoise in this exchange as to us; but, according to his stoical humour, I presume he thought

* Tacit. annal. lib. xv. c. 64.

thought he had done as much for her, in prolonging his life upon her account, as if he had died for her. In one * of his letters to Lucilius, after he has given him to understand, that, being seized with an ague in Rome, he presently took coach to go to a house he had in the country, contrary to his wife's opinion, who would by all means persuade him to stay; and that he told her, ' That the ague he was seized with was not a fever of the body, but of the place: ' It follows thus; ' She let me go, says he, with giving me a strict charge of my health: Now I, who know that her life is involved in mine, begin to make much of myself, that I may preserve her; and I lose the privilege, my age has given me, of being more constant and resolute in many things, when I call to mind, that there is a young lady who is interested in this old man's health; and, since I cannot persuade her to love me more courageously, she makes me more solicitously to love myself; for we must allow something to honest affections; and sometimes, though occasions importune us to the contrary, we must call back life, even though it be with torment; we must hold the soul within our teeth, since the rule of living amongst good men is not so long as they please, but as long as they ought: He that loves not his wife and his friend so well as to prolong his life for them, but will obstinately die, is too delicate and too effeminate: The soul must impose this upon itself, when the utility of our friends does so require: We must sometimes lend ourselves to our friends, and, when we would die for ourselves, must break that resolution for their sakes: 'Tis a testimony of a noble courage to return to life for the sake of another's, as many excellent persons have done: And 'tis a mark of singular good-nature to preserve old age (of which the greatest convenience is an indifference for its duration, and a more stout and disdainful use of life) when a man perceives that this office is pleasing, agreeable, and useful to some person whom we are very fond of; and a man reaps a very pleasing reward from it; for what can be more delightful than to be so dear to one's wife, as, upon her account, to become dear to one's self? ' Thus

* Epist. civ.

' Thus has my Paulina imputed to me not only her fears, but my own; it has not been sufficient for me to consider how resolutely I could die, but I have also considered how unable she would be to bear it: I am enforced to live, and sometimes to live is magnanimity.' These are his own excellent words, according to his usual manner.

C H A P. XXXVI. *Of Three most excellent Men.*

IF I should be asked who I should prefer, of all the men that have come to my knowledge, I should answer, ' That I think three more excellent than all the rest: ' One of them Homer; not but Aristotle and Varro, for example, were peradventure as learned as he; and possibly Virgil might compare with him, even in his own art, I leave this to be determined by such as know them both; I, who, for my part, understand but one of them, can only say this, according to my poor talent, ' That I do not believe the Muses themselves ever surpassed the Roman.'

*Tale facit carmen doctâ testudine, quale
Cynthius impositis temperat articulis *.*

i. e.

His lute and verse with harmony as sweet conspire,
As when Apollo sings in concert with his lyre.
And yet in this judgment we are not to forget, that it is chiefly from Homer that Virgil derives his excellence; that he is his guide and teacher; and that the Iliad only has supplied him with body and matter, out of which to compose his great and divine Æneis. I do not reckon upon that alone, but take in several other circumstances that render this poet admirable to me, even as it were above human condition: And, in truth, I often wonder, that he who has erected, and by his authority given so many deities reputation in the world, was not deified himself, being both blind and poor, and so well acquainted with the sciences, before they were reduced into rule and certain observations, that all those who have since taken upon them to establish governments, to carry on wars, and to write either of philosophy or religion,

* Propert. lib. ii. eleg ult. v. 79, 80.

gion, of what sect soever, or of the arts, have made use of him, as of a most perfect instructor, in the knowledge of all things; and of his books as a nursery of all sorts of learning:

*Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Pleniù ac meliù Chryssippo ac Crantore dixit *.*

i. e.

Who hath what's brave, what's base, what's hurtful,
and what's good,

Clearer than Crantor or Chrysippus shew'd.

and as this other says,

*————a quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieriis labra rigantur aquis †.*

i. e.

At that clear spring the poets take their swill,
Which ever flows from the Pierian hill.

and another,

*Adde Heliconiadum Comites, quorum unus Homerus
Astra potitus ‡.*

i. e.

Of all the poets, Homer is alone

Judg'd the most worthy of the Muses throne.

and another,

*————cujusque ex ore profuso
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
Amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos,
Unius fecunda bonis §.*

i. e.

From whose abundant spring
Succeeding poets draw the songs they sing;
From him they take, from him adorn their themes,
And into little channels cut his streams;
Rich in his store————

'Tis contrary to the order of nature that he has made the most excellent production that can possibly be; for the ordinary birth of things is imperfect; they thrive and gather strength by growing: Whereas he has rendered even the infancy of poesy, and of several other sciences, mature, perfect, and complete. And for this reason he
may

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 2. v. 3.

† Ovid. Amor. lib. iii. eleg. 9. v. 25.

‡ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 1050.

§ Manil. Astron. lib. ii. v. 8, &c.

may be called the first and the last of the poets, according to the fair testimony antiquity has left us of him, ' * That, as there was none before him whom he could imitate, so there has been none since that could imitate him.' His words, according to Aristotle †, are the only words that have motion and action, and are the only substantial words. Alexander the great, having found a rich little coffer amongst Darius's spoils ‡, gave order it ' should be reserved for him to keep his Homer ' in ;' saying, ' That he was the best and most faithful ' counsellor he had in his military affairs §. For the same reason it was that Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas, said, ' That he was the Lacedæmonian poet, because he was the best master for the discipline of war ||. This singular and particular commendation is also left of him in the judgment of Plutarch, ' That he is the only ' author in the world that never glutted nor disgusted ' his readers, presenting himself always in different lights, ' and always flourishing in some new grace ¶.' That merry droll Alcibiades, having asked one who pretended to learning ** for a book of Homer, gave him a box on the ear because he had none, which he thought as scandalous as we should for one of our priests to be without a breviary. Xenophanes complained one day to Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, ' That he was so poor he had ' not wherewithal to maintain two servants : ' The tyrant replied, ' Homer, who was much poorer than you ' are ††, keeps above ten thousand now he is dead.' What did Panætius leave unsaid ‡‡ when he called Plato the Homer of philosophers? Besides, what glory can be compared to his? Nothing is so frequent in men's mouths as his name and works; nothing so known and received as Troy, Helen, and the war about her, when perhaps there was never any such thing. Our children are still called by names that he feigned above three thousand years ago. Who is ignorant of the story of Hector

* Velleii Paterculi hist. lib. i. c. 5. † Arist. de Politica, c. 24. ‡ Plin. nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 29. § Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, c. 2. || In the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians. ¶ Plutarch, in his treatise of loquacity, c. 5. ** Idem, in the life of Alcibiades, c. 3. †† Idem, in the notable sayings of the ancient kings, &c. at the word Hiero. ‡‡ Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. i. c. 32.

Hector and Achilles? Not only some particular families, but most nations seek their original in his inventions. Mahomet, the second of that name, emperor of the Turks, writing to our pope Pius the second; 'I am astonished, says he, that the Italians should appear against me, considering that we have our common descent from the Trojans; and that it concerns me, as well as it does them, to revenge the blood of Hector upon the Greeks, whom they countenance against me.' Is it not a noble farce wherein kings, republics, and emperors have so many ages played their parts, and to which all this vast universe serves for a theatre? Seven Grecian cities contended for his birth, so much honour did he derive even from his obscurity.

*Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athens *.*

The second of my three personages is Alexander the great: For who ever will consider the age at which he began his enterprises; the small means by which he effected so glorious a design; the authority he obtained, at so slender an age, with the greatest and most experienced captains of the world, by whom he was followed; and the extraordinary favour wherewith fortune embraced him, and favoured so many hazardous, I had almost said rash designs of his!

*impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti,
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruinâ †.*

i. e.

Whose high designs no hostile force could stay,
And who by ruin lov'd to clear his way.

That grandeur, to have, at the age of thirty-three years, passed victorious through the whole habitable earth, and in half a life to have attained to the utmost effort of human nature; so that you cannot imagine its duration just, nor the continuance of his increase in virtue and fortune, even to a due maturity of age, but that you must withal imagine something more than man: To have made so many royal branches to spring from his seldiers; leaving the world, at his death, divided amongst four successors, who were no better than captains of his army, whose posterity have so long continued, and

* Aul. Gell. lib. iii. c. 11.

VOL. III.

† Lucan. lib. i. v. 149, 150.
maintained

maintained that vast possession; so many excellent virtues as he was possessed of, justice, temperance, liberality, truth in his word, love towards his own people, and humanity towards those he overcame; for his manners, in the general, seem, in truth, incapable of any just reproach, tho' some particular and extraordinary action of his may, peradventure, fall under censure: But it is impossible to carry on so great things, as he did, with the strict rules of justice; such as he are willing to be judged in gross, by the governing motive of their actions. The ruin of Thebes; the murder of Menander *; and of Ephestion's physician †; the massacre of so many Persian prisoners at once; of a troop of Indian soldiers ‡, not without prejudice to his word; and of the Cosselyans §, so much as to the very children; are fallies that are not well to be excused: For, as to Clytus, the fault was more than recompensed in his repentance, and that very action, as much as any other whatever, manifests the gentleness of his nature, a nature excellently formed to goodness; and it was ingeniously said of him, 'That he had his virtues from nature, and his vices from fortune ||.' As to his being a little given to boasting, and a little too impatient of hearing himself ill spoken of; and as to those manglers, arms, and bits he caused to be strewed in the Indies; all those little vanities, methinks, may very well be allowed to his youth, and the prodigious prosperity of his fortune: And who will consider, withal, his many military virtues, his diligence, foresight, patience, discipline, subtlety, magnanimity, resolution, and good fortune, wherein (tho' we had not had the authority of Hannibal to assure us) he was the chief of men; the uncommon beauty and state of his person, even to a miracle, his majestic port, and awful deportment, in a face so young, so ruddy, and so radiant:

*Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer undâ,
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes,
Extulit os sacrum cælo, tenebrasque resolvit ¶.*

i. e.

* Plutarch in the life of Alexander, c. 18. † Idem, *ibid.*
c. 22. Q. Curtius, lib. ii. sect. 4. ‡ Plutarch, c. 18.
§ Idem, *ib.* c. 22. || Q. Curtius, lib. x. sect. 5.
¶ *Æneid.* lib. viii. v. 589, &c.

i. e.

So does the day-star from the ocean rise,
Above all lights, grateful to Venus' eyes;
When he from heaven darts his sacred light,
And dissipates the fullen shades of night.

Whoever, moreover, considers the excellency of his knowledge and capacity, the duration and grandeur of his glory, pure, clear, without spot or envy; and that, even long after his death, it was a religious belief, that his very medals brought good fortune to all that carried them about them; and that more kings and princes have writ his acts, than other historians have written the acts of any other king or prince whatever; and that, to this very day, the Mahometans, who despise all other histories, admit of, and honour his alone, by a special privilege: Whoever, I say, will seriously consider all these particulars, will confess, that I had reason to prefer him before Cæsar himself, who alone could make me doubtful in my choice: And it cannot be denied, but that there was more of his own conduct in his exploits, and more of fortune in those of Alexander. They were, in many things, equal, and, peradventure, Cæsar, had the advantage in some particular qualities. They were two fires, or two torrents, to ravage the world by several ways:

*Et velut immixti diversis partibus ignes
Arentem in sylvam, et virgulta sonantia lauro:
Aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, et in æquora currunt,
Quisque suum populatus iter *.*

i. e.

And like to fires in sev'ral parts apply'd
To dry a grove of crackling laurel's side;
Or like the cataracts of foaming rills,
To tumble headlong from the lofty hills,
To hasten to the ocean; even so

They bear all down before them where they go.

But tho' Cæsar's ambition was, in itself, more moderate, it was so mischievous, having the ruin of his country, and the universal devastation of the world for its abominable object; that, all things collected together, and

Q 2

put

* Æneid. lib. xili. v. 521, &c.

put into the balance, I cannot but incline to Alexander's side.

The third great man, and, in my opinion, the most excellent of all, is Epaminondas: Of glory he has not near so much as the other two (which also is but a part of the substance of the thing :) of valour and resolution, not of that sort which is pushed on by ambition, but of that which wisdom and reason can plant in a regular soul, he had all that could be imagined: Of this virtue of his he has, in my thoughts, given as ample proof, as Alexander himself, or Cæsar: For, although his military exploits were neither so frequent, nor so renowned, they were yet, if duly considered in all their circumstances, as important as vigorous, and carried with them as manifest a testimony of boldness, and military capacity, as those of any whatever.

The Greeks have done him the honour, without contradiction, to pronounce him the greatest man of their nation; and to be the first man of Greece is easily to be the first of the world.

As to his knowledge and capacity, we have this ancient judgment of him, 'That never any man knew so much, and spake so little as he *:' For he was of the Pythagorean sect: But, when he did speak, 'never any man spake better;' being an excellent and most persuasive orator.

But, as to his manners and conscience, he has vastly surpassed all men that ever undertook the management of affairs; for in this one thing, which ought chiefly to be considered, which alone truly denotes us for what we are, and which alone I counter-balance with all the rest put together, he comes not short of any philosopher whatever, not even of Socrates himself. Innocency, in this man, is a quality, peculiar, sovereign, constant, uniform, and incorruptible; compared to which it appears, in Alexander, subaltern, uncertain, variable, effeminate, and accidental.

Antiquity has judged, that, in thoroughly sifting all the other great captains, there is found, in every one, some peculiar quality that illustrates him. In this man only there is a full and equal virtue and sufficiency throughout,

* Plutarch of Socrates's familiar spirit, c. 23.

throughout, that leaves nothing to be wished for in him, in all offices of human life, whether in private or public employments, either of peace or war, in order for living and dying with grandeur and glory. I do not know any form or fortune of a man that I so much honour and love.

'Tis true, that I look upon his obstinate poverty, as it is set out by his best friends, a little too scrupulous and nice. And this is the only action, tho' high in itself, and well worthy of admiration, that I find so unpleasant as not to desire to imitate myself, to the degree it was in him.

Scipio Æmilianus, would any attribute to him as brave and magnificent an end, and as profound and universal a knowledge of the sciences, is the only person fit to be put into the other scale of the balance: Oh! what a mortification has time given us, to deprive us of the sight of two of the most noble lives, which, by the common consent of all the world, one the greatest of the Greeks, and the other of the Romans, were in all Plutarch! What a subject! What a workman!

For a man that was no faint, but, as we say, a gallant man, of civil and ordinary manners, and of a moderate eminence, the richest life that I know, and full of the most valuable and desirable qualities, all things considered, is, in my opinion, that of Alcibiades.

But, as to Epaminondas, I will here, for the example of an excessive goodness, add some of his opinions. He declared, ' That the greatest satisfaction he ever had in his whole life, was, the pleasure he gave his father and mother by his victory at Leuctra *; ' wherein his complaisance is great, preferring their pleasure before his own, so just, and so full of so glorious an action: He did not think it lawful to kill any man for any crime, even tho' it were to restore the liberty of his country †: Which made him so cool in the enterprise of his companion Pelopidas for the relief of Thebes. He was also of opinion, ' That men in battle ought to avoid attacking a friend that was on the contrary side, and to spare

* Plutarch in the life of Coriolanus, c. 2. And in his treatise, to prove that there can be no merry life, according to Epicurus.

† Plutarch of Socrates's Dæmon, c. 4.

'him *.' And his humanity, even towards his enemies themselves, having rendered him suspected to the Bæotians; for that, after he had miraculously forced the Lacedæmonians to open to him the pass, which they had undertaken to defend at the entrance of the Morea, near Corinth, he contented himself with having charged thro' them, without pursuing them to the utmost: For this he had his commission of general taken from him, which was very honourable for such an account, and for the shame it was to them, upon necessity, afterwards to restore him to his command, and to own how much depended their safety and honour upon him: Victory, like a shadow, attending him wherever he went; and, indeed, the prosperity of his country, as being from him derived, died with him †.

C H A P. XXXVII. *Of the Resemblance of CHILDREN to their FATHERS.*

IN compounding this farrago of so many different pieces, I never set pen to paper, but when I have too much idle time, and never any where but at home; so that it is the work of several pauses and intervals, as occasions keep me sometimes many months abroad. As to the rest, I never correct my first by any second conceptions; I peradventure may alter a word or so, but 'tis only to vary the phrase, and not to cancel my meaning: I have a mind to represent the progress of my humours, that every piece, as it comes from the brain, may be seen; I could wish I had begun sooner, and taken notice of the course of my mutations. A servant of mine, that I employed to transcribe for me, thought he had got a prize by stealing several pieces from me, which best pleased his fancy; but it is my comfort, that he will be no greater a gainer, than I shall be a loser by the theft.

I am grown older, by seven or eight years, since I began; neither has it been without some new acquisition: I have, in that time, been acquainted with the cholic, and a long course of years hardly wears off without some

* Plutarch of Socrates's Dæmon, c. 17.

† Corn. Nepos in the life of Epaminondas.

some such inconvenience. I could have been glad, that, of other infirmities age has to present long-lived men, it had chosen some one that would have been more welcome to me, for it could not possibly have laid upon me a disease, for which, even from my infancy, I have had a greater horror; and it is, in truth, of all the accidents of old-age, the very distemper of which I have ever been most afraid. I have often thought with myself, that I went on too far, and that, in so long a voyage, I should infallibly, at last, meet with some scurvy shock; I perceived, and oft enough declared, that it was time to knock off, and that life was to be cut to the quick, according to the surgeons rule in the amputation of a limb; and that nature usually made him pay very dear interest, who did not, in due time, restore the principal: And yet I was so far from being then ready, that in eighteen months time, or thereabouts, that I have been in this uneasy condition, I have inured myself to it, I have compounded with this cholic, and have found therein to comfort myself, and to hope: So much are men enslaved to their miserable being, that there is no condition so wretched that they will not accept, for preserving it, according to that of Mecænas.

Debilem facito manu,

Debilem pede, coxa,

Lubricos quate dentes:

*Vita dum supereſt, bene eſt *.*

i. e.

Maim both my hands and feet, break legs and thighs, }
 Knock out my teeth, and bore out both my eyes; }
 Let me but live, all's well enough, he cries.

And Tamerlane, with a foolish humanity, palliated the fantastick cruelty he exercised upon lepers, when he put all he could hear of to death, by pretending to deliver them from a painful life: For there was not one of them who would not rather have undergone a triple leprosy, than to be deprived of their being. And Antisthenes, the Stoic †, being very sick; and crying out, 'Who will deliver

* Senec. epist. 101.

† Or rather, the Cynic, of which sect he was the head, tho', in the main, there is no great difference betwixt the two sects, as to their doctrine.

'deliver me from these evils?' Diogenes, who was come to visit him, 'This, said he, presenting him a knife, 'presently, if thou wilt:' 'I do not say, from my life,' he replied, but from my disease *.' The sufferings that only attack the mind, I am not so sensible of, as most other men, and that partly out of judgment: For the world looks upon several things as dreadful, or to be avoided at the expence of life, that are almost indifferent to me; partly thro' a stupid and insensible complexion I have in accidents which do not hit me point-blank; and that insensibility I look upon as one of the best parts of my natural constitution; but essential and corporal sufferings I am very sensible of: And yet having, long since, foreseen them, though with a sight weak and delicate, and softened with the long and happy health and quiet that God has been pleased to give me the greatest part of my time, I had, in my imagination, fancied them so insupportable, that, in truth, I was more afraid than I have since found I had cause; by which I am still more fortified in this belief, that most of the faculties of the soul, as we employ them, more disturb the repose of life, than any way promote it.

I am in conflict with the worst, the most sudden, the most painful, the most mortal, and the most incurable of all diseases: I have already had five or six very long and painful fits, and yet I either flatter myself, or there is even, in this estate, what is very well to be endured by a man who has his soul free from the fear of death, and from the menaces, conclusions, and consequences, which we are alarmed with by physic. But the effect of the pain itself is not so very acute and intolerable as to drive a solid man into fury and despair. I have, at least, this advantage by my cholic, that what I could not hitherto wholly prevail upon myself to resolve upon, as to reconciling and acquainting myself with death, it will perfect; for, the more it presses upon and importunes me, I shall be so much the less afraid to die. I have already gone so far as only to love life for life's sake; but my pain will also dissolve this correspondence; and God grant, that, in the end, should the sharpness of it prove greater than I shall be able to bear, it may not throw me
into

* Diog. Laertius in the life of Antisthenes, lib. v. sect. 18, 19.

into the other not less vicious extreme, to desire and wish to die.

*Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes *.*

i. e.

Neither to wish, nor fear to die.

They are two passions to be feared, but the one has its remedy much nearer at hand than the other. As to the rest, I have always found the precept, which so strictly enjoins a constant good countenance, and a disdainful and serene comportment in the toleration of pain, to be merely ceremonial. Why should philosophy, which only has respect to life and its effects, trouble itself about these external appearances? Let it leave that care to stage-players, and masters of rhetoric, so much practised in our gestures. Let it, in God's name, allow this vocal frailty, if it be neither cordial nor stomachical, to the disease; and permit the ordinary ways of expressing grief by sighs, sobs, palpitations, and turning pale, that nature has put out of our power to hinder: And provided the courage be undaunted, and the expressions not sounding of despair, let it be satisfied: What matters it though we ring our hands, if we do not wring our thoughts? philosophy forms us for ourselves, not for others; to be, not to seem: Let it be satisfied with governing our understandings, which it has taken the care of instructing; that, in the fury of the cholic, it may maintain the soul in a condition to examine itself, and to follow its accustomed way: Contending with, and supporting, not meanly crouching under the pain; moved and heated by the struggle, not dejected and demolished, but capable of conversation, and other amusements, to a certain degree. In accidents so extreme, 'tis cruelty to require of us a frame so very composed: 'Tis no great matter what faces we make, if we find any ease by it: If the body find itself relieved by complaining, well and good: If agitation eases it, let it tumble and toss at pleasure; if it finds the disease evaporate (as some physicians hold, that it helps women in delivery) by crying out extremely, or if it amuses its torments, let it roar aloud: Let us not command the voice to sally, but permit it. Epicurus does not only forgive his wife man for crying out in torments,
but

* Mart. lib. x. epig. 47. v. ult.

but advises him to it. 'Pugiles etiam quum feriunt adversarium, in jactandis caestibus ingemiscunt, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior *.' 'When men fight with clubs, they groan in laying on, because all the strength of the body is exerted with the voice, and the blow is laid on with greater force.' We have enough to do to deal with the disease, without troubling ourselves with these superfluous rules.

I say this in excuse of those whom we ordinarily see impatient in the assaults and shocks of this infirmity; for as to myself, I have passed it over, hitherto, with a little better countenance, and contented myself with grunting, without roaring out: Not, however, that I put any great task upon myself to maintain this exterior decency, for I make little account of such an advantage: I allow herein as much as the pain requires, but either my pains are not so excessive, or I have more than ordinary resolution to support them: I complain, and fret, in a very sharp fit, but not to such a degree of despair, as he who with

Ejulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus

Resonando multum flebiles voces refert †.

i. e.

Howling, roaring, and a thousand groans

Express'd his torment in most dismal tones.

I sound myself in the worst of my fits, and have always found, that I was in a capacity to speak, think, and give as rational an answer as at any other time, but not with such steadiness, being troubled and interrupted by the pain. When I am looked upon, by my visitors, to be almost spent, and that they therefore forbear to talk, I oft try my own strength, and broach some discourse myself, on subjects the most remote I can contrive from my present condition: I can do any thing by a sudden effort, but not to hold long. What pity 'tis I have not the faculty of that dreamer in Cicero; 'who, dreaming he was lying with a wench, found he had discharged his stone in the sheets!' My pains do strangely take off my appetite that way. In the intervals from this excessive torment, when my ureters languish without gnawing, I presently recover my wonted state, forasmuch

* Cic. Tusc. lib. ii. c. 23.

† Ibid. lib. ii. c. 14.

asmuch as my soul takes no other alarm but what is sensible and corporeal, which I certainly owe to the care I have had of preparing myself, by reason, against such accidents.

— laborum

*Nulla mihi nova nunc facies inopinaque surgit,
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi **

i. e.

No face of pain or labour, now can rise,
Which by its novelty can me surprize;
I've been accustom'd all things to explore,
And been inur'd unto them long before.

I am a little roughly handled for a learner, and, with a sudden and sharp alteration, am fallen, in an instant, from a very easy and happy condition of life, into the most uneasy and painful that can be imagined: For, besides that it is a disease very much to be feared in itself, it begins with me after a more sharp and severe manner than it used to do: My fits come so thick upon me, that I am scarce ever in health; and yet I have hitherto kept my mind in such a frame, that, provided I can continue it, I find myself in a much better condition of life than a thousand others, who have no fever, nor other disease but what they create to themselves for want of reasoning.

There is a certain sort of crafty humility that springs from presumption; as this, for example, that we confess our ignorance in many things, and are so courteous as to acknowledge, that there are, in the works of nature, some qualities and conditions that are imperceptible by us, and of which our understanding cannot discover the means and causes: By this honest declaration we hope to obtain, that people shall also believe us in those that we say we do understand. We need not trouble ourselves to seek miracles and strange difficulties; methinks there are wonders so incomprehensible amongst the things that we ordinarily see, as surpass all difficulties of miracles. What a wonderful thing it is, that the drop of seed from which we are produced, should carry in itself the impression not only of the bodily form, but even of the thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where can that drop of fluid matter contain that infinite number of forms? And how

* *Æneid.* lib. vi. v. 103, &c.

how do they carry on these resemblances with so precipitant and irregular a progress, that the grandson shall be like his great grandfather, the nephew like his uncle? In the family of Lepidus at Rome, 'there were three, not successively, but by intervals, that were born with one and the same eye covered with a web *.' At Thebes, 'there was a race that carried, from their mother's womb, the mark of the spear of a lance,' and who was not born so, was looked upon as illegitimate †. And Aristotle says, 'That, in a certain nation, where the women were in common, they assigned the children to their fathers by their resemblance.'

'Tis to be believed, that I derive this infirmity from my father, for he died wonderfully tormented with a great stone in his bladder; he was never sensible of his disease till the sixty-seventh year of his age, and, before that, had never felt any symptoms of it, either in his reins, sides, or any other part; and had lived, till then, in a happy state of health, little subject to infirmities, and having lived seven years in this disease, died a very painful death. I was born above twenty-five years before this distemper seized him, and in his most healthful state of body, was his third child in order of birth: where could his propension to this malady lurk all that while: And, he himself being so far from the infirmity at my birth, how could that small part of his substance, of which I was composed, carry away so great an impression of its share? And how was it so concealed, that, till forty-five years after, I did not begin to be sensible of it? being the only one, to this hour, amongst so many brothers and sisters, and all of one mother, that was ever troubled with it. He that can satisfy me in this point, I will believe him in as many other miracles as he pleases; always provided, that, as the manner is, he does not give me a doctrine much more intricate and fantastic than the thing itself, for current pay.

Let

* Plin. lib. vii. of his nat. hist. c. 12.

† Plutarch in his treatise of the persons whose punishment is delayed by God, c. 19. of Amyot's translation; but he does not say, that those of this race, who had not this mark, as some had not, were deemed illegitimate.

Let the physicians a little excuse the liberty I take; for by this same infusion, and fatal insinuation, it is, that I have received a hatred and contempt of their doctrine. The antipathy I have against their art is hereditary to me. My father lived seventy-four years, my grandfather sixty-nine, my great grandfather almost fourscore years, without ever tasting any sort of physic; and, with them, whatever was not ordinary diet, was instead of a drug. Physic is grounded upon experience and examples, so is my opinion: And is not this an express and very advantageous experience? I do not know that they can find me, in all their records, three that were born, bred, and died under the same roof, who had lived so long by their own conduct. It must here, of necessity, be confessed, 'that, if reason be not, fortune at least is on my side,' and with physicians, fortune goes a great deal further than reason; let them not take me now at this disadvantage; let them not threaten me in the demolished condition I now am, for that were foul play: And, to say truth, I have got so much the better of them by these domestic examples, that they should rest satisfied. Human things are not usually so constant; it has been two hundred years, save eighteen, that this trial has lasted, in our family, for the first of them was born in the year 1402. 'Tis now, indeed, very good reason, that this experience should begin to fail us: Let them not therefore reproach me with the infirmities under which I now suffer; is it not enough, for my part, that I have lived forty seven-years in perfect health? Though it should be the end of my career, 'tis of the longer sort.

My ancestors had an aversion to physic by some secret and natural instinct, for the very sight of a potion was loathsome to my father. The Seigneur de Gaviac, my uncle by the father's side, a churchman, and a Valetudinarian from his birth, and yet one who made that crazy life to hold out to sixty-seven years; being once fallen into a violent fever, it was ordered, by the physicians, he should be plainly told, 'That if he would not make use of help (for so they call that which is very often a hindrance) he would infallibly be a dead man.' The good man, tho' terrified with this dreadful sentence,

yet replied, 'I am then a dead man.' But God, soon after, proved the prognostic false. The youngest of the brothers, which were four, and by many years the youngest, the *Sieur de Bussaget*, was the only man of the family that made use of medicine, by reason, I suppose, of the commerce he had with the other arts, for he was a counsellor in the court of parliament, and it succeeded so ill with him, that, being, in outward appearance, of the strongest constitution, he yet died before any of the rest, the *Sieur St. Michel* only excepted.

'Tis possible I may have derived this natural antipathy to physic from them; but, had there been no other consideration in the case, I would have endeavoured to overcome it: For all conditions that spring in us without reason, are vicious, and a kind of disease that we are to wrestle with: It may be I had naturally this propension, but I have supported and fortified it by arguments and reasons, which have established in me the opinion I have of it: For I also hate the consideration of refusing physic for the nauseous taste: I should hardly be of their humour, who find health worth purchasing by all the most painful cauteries and incisions that can be applied: And, according to Epicurus, I conceive, 'That pleasures are to be avoided, if greater pains be the consequence; and pains to be coveted, that will terminate in greater pleasures.' Health is a precious thing, and the only one, in truth, meriting that a man should lay out, not only his time, sweat, labour, and goods, but also his life itself to obtain it, forasmuch as, without it, life is a burden to us. Pleasure, wisdom, learning, and virtue, without it, wither and vanish; and to the most laboured and solid discourses, that philosophy would imprint in us to the contrary, we need no more but oppose the idea of Plato, being struck with an epilepsy or apoplexy; and, in this presupposition, to defy him to call the rich faculties of his soul to his assistance: All means that conduce to health I can neither think painful, nor dear: But I have some other appearances that make me strangely suspect all this merchandise: I do not deny but there may be some art in it, and that there are, amongst so many works of nature, some things proper for the preservation of health, is most certain; I very well know, that there are some sim-
ples

ples that moisten, and others that dry; I experimentally know, that radishes are windy, and senna leaves laxative; and several other such experiences I have, which I am as sure of, as I am that mutton nourishes, and wine warms me: And Solon would say, 'That eating was, like other drugs, physic against the disease of hunger.' I do not disapprove the use we make of things the earth produces, nor doubt, in the least, of the power and fertility of nature, and disapprove not the application of what she affords to our necessities: I very well see that pikes and swallows thrive by its laws; but I mistrust the inventions of our wit, knowledge, and art; to countenance which, we have abandoned nature and her rules, and wherein we keep no bounds nor moderation. As we call the modification of the first laws, that fall into our hands, justice, and their practice and dispensation often very foolish and very unjust: And as those who scoff at, and accuse it, do not mean, nevertheless, to wrong that noble virtue, but only condemn the abuse and profanation of that sacred title; so, in physic, I very much honour that glorious name, and the end it is studied for, and what it promises to the service of mankind, but its prescriptions I neither honour nor esteem.

In the first place experience makes me dread it; for, amongst all of my acquaintance, I see no race of people so soon sick, and so long before they are well, as those who are slaves to physic. Their very health is altered and corrupted by the regimen they are constrained to. Physicians are not content to deal only with the sick, but they change health into sickness, for fear men should, at any time, escape their authority. Do they not, from a continual and perfect health, infer an argument of some great sickness to ensue? I have been sick often enough, and have, without their aid, found my maladies as easy to be supported (tho' I have made trial of almost all sorts) and as short, as those of any other, without swallowing their nauseous doses. The health I have is full and free, without other rule or discipline than my own custom and pleasure: Every place serves me well enough to stay in, for I need no other conveniences when I am sick, than what I must have when I am well: I never disturb myself that I have no physician, no apothecary, nor any

other assistance, which I see most men more afflicted at, than they are with their disease! What, do the physicians themselves, by the felicity and duration of their own lives, convince us of the apparent effect of their skill?

There is not a nation in the world that has not been many ages without physic; and the first ages, that is to say, the best and most happy, knew no such thing; and the tenth part of the world knows nothing of it to this day. Several nations are ignorant of it, where men live more healthful and longer than we do here, and even, amongst us, the common people live happily without it. The Romans were * six hundred years before they received it; and, after having made trial of it, banished it from their city, at the instance of Cato the Censor, who made it appear, how easy it was to live without it, having himself lived fourscore and five years †; and kept his wife alive to an extreme old-age, not without physic, but without a physician; for every thing that we find healthful to life, may be called physic. He kept his family in health, as Plutarch says, if I mistake not, with hare's milk; as Pliny ‡ reports, that the Arcadians || cured all manner of diseases with that of a cow; and Herodotus § says, 'The Lybians generally • enjoy a rare health, by a custom they have, after their • children are arrived to four years of age, to burn and • cauterise the veins of their heads and temples, by which • means they cut off all defluations of rheums for their • whole lives ¶.' And the country people of our province

* Montaigne might very well assure us, upon the authority of Pliny, lib. 29. c. 1. That the Romans did not admit of physic till 600 years after the foundation of Rome; and that, after they had made trial of the art, they condemned and banished the physicians from their city; but, as to his addition, that they were expelled at the instance of Cato the Censor; Pliny is so far from authorising it, that he expressly says the Romans did not banish the physicians from their city till long after the death of Cato. Several modern writers have fallen into the same error as Montaigne, as may be seen in Bayle's dictionary, under the article Porcius, in the note H.

† Idem, *ibid*.

‡ In the life of Cato the Censor, c. 12.

|| Nat. hist. lib xxv. c. 8.

§ Lib. iv. p. 323.

¶ Montaigne should have said, by which means they propose to cut

vince use nothing, in all sorts of diseases, but the strongest wine they can get, mixed with a great deal of saffron and spice, and all with the same success.

And to say the truth; of all this diversity and confusion of prescriptions, what other end and effect is there, after all, but to purge the belly? Which a thousand ordinary simples will do as well; and I do not know, whether such evacuations be so much to our advantage as they pretend, and whether nature do not require a settlement of her excrements to a certain proportion, as wine does of its lees, to preserve it. You oft see healthful men taken with vomitings and fluxes of the belly from unknown causes, and make a great evacuation of excrements, without any preceding need, or any following benefit, but rather with hurt and damage to their constitutions. 'Tis from the great Plato, that I lately learned, 'That of three sorts of motions, which are natural to us, purging is the last and worst; and that no man, unless he be a fool, ought to take any thing to that purpose, but in the extremest necessity *.' Men disturb and irritate the disease by contrary oppositions: It must be the way of living that must gently weaken, and bring it to its period: The violent contest betwixt the drug and the disease is ever to our loss, since the combat is within ourselves, and that the drug is an assistant not to be trusted, being, by its own nature, an enemy to our health, and has no access to our constitution, without making a disturbance. Let it alone a little: The order of nature that provides for fleas and moles, does also provide for men, if they will have the patience, which fleas and moles have, to leave it to itself: We may bawl out, as the carman does to his horses, till we are hoarse, and the cure be never the nearer. 'Tis a proud and pitiless order: Our fears, our despair, disgust and stop it from, instead of inviting it to our relief: It owes its course to the disease, as well as to health, and will not suffer itself to be corrupted in favour of the one, to the cut off such desfluxions, &c. for though Herodotus says, they do it with this view, yet he does not presume to say, that, for this cause, they enjoy such perfect health. 'Tis true, says he, the Lybians are more healthy than any people that I know, but, that this is the cause of it, I cannot affirm positively.

* In Timæo, p. 551.

prejudice of the other's right, for it would then fall into disorder. Let us, in God's name, follow it: It leads those that follow, and those who will not follow; it drags along both their fury and physic together: Order a purge for your brain, it will there be better employed, than upon your stomach.

One asking a Lacedæmonian, 'What had made him live so long?' He made answer, 'The ignorance of physic.' And the emperor Adrian continually exclaimed, as he was dying, 'That the croud of physicians had killed him *.' An ill wrestler turned physician: 'Courage, says Diogenes to him, thou hast done well, for now thou wilt throw those who have formerly thrown thee †.' But physicians have this advantage, according to Nicocles, 'That the sun gives light to their successs, and the earth covers their miscarriages ‡.' And besides, they have a very advantageous way of making use of all sorts of events: For what fortune, nature, or any other causes (of which the number is infinite) produce of good and healthful in us, it is the privilege of physic to attribute to itself. All the happy successs that happen to the patient, who is under its regimen, must be derived from thence: The occasions that have cured *mé*, and that cure a thousand others, who don't apply to them, physicians arrogate to themselves: And, as to ill accidents, they either absolutely disown them, in laying the fault upon the patient, by such frivolous reasons, as they can never be to seek for; as, 'he lay with his arms out of bed; or, he was disturbed with the rattling of a coach.'

—— *Rhedarum transitus arcto*
Vicorum inflexu || : ———

i. e.

He heard the wheels, and horses trampling feet,
 In the streight turning of a narrow street.

Or,

* Xiphilinus in Epitome Dionis vitâ Adriani, and Bayle's dictionary, in the article Hadrian. The same complaint was made before Hadrian, as I learn from Pliny, who has copied an epitaph, wherein a person died complaining, *Turbâ se Medicorum perisâ*. Nat. hist. lib. xxix. c. 1.

† Diog. Laert. in the life of Diogenes the Cynic, lib. vi. sect. 60.

‡ Ch. 146. of the collection of the Monks Antonius and Maximus.

|| Juv. sat. iii. v. 236.

Or, 'Some-body had set open the window; or, he had
'lain on his left side; or, had had some uneasy thought
'in his head.' In short, a word, a dream, or a look,
seem to them excuse sufficient for this miscarriage: Or,
if they so please, they even make use of their growing
worse, and do their business by a way which can never
fail them; which is, by buzzing us in the ears, when
the disease is inflamed by their medicaments, that it had
been much worse but for their remedies. He, who, for
an ordinary cold, they have thrown into a double tertian
ague, had, but for them, been in a continued fever.
They do not care what mischief they do, since it turns
to their own profit. In earnest, they have reason to re-
quire a very favourable belief from their patients; and
indeed it need be a hearty and very easy one, to swallow
things so hard to be believed. Plato * said very well,
'That physicians were the only men that might lye
'without controul, since our health depends upon the
'vanity and falsity of their promises.'

Æsop †, a most excellent author, and of whom few
men discover all the graces, does pleasantly represent to
us the tyrannical authority physicians usurp over poor
creatures, weakened and dejected by sickness and fear;
for he tells us, 'That a sick person, being asked by his
'physician, what operation he had found of the medi-
'cines he had given him?' 'I have sweat very much,
'says the sick man:' 'That's good, says the physi-
'cian:' Another time, having asked him, 'How he felt
'himself after his physic?' 'I have been very cold, and
'have had a great shivering upon me, said he:' 'That's
'good, replied the physician:' After the third dose, he
asked him again, 'How he did?' Why, I find myself
'swelled, and puffed up, said he, as if I had a dropsy:'
'better still, said the physician:' One of his servants
coming, presently after, to inquire 'how he felt him-
'self?' 'Truly, friend, said he, with being too well, I
'am about to die.'

There was a more just law in Egypt, by which the
physician, for the three first days, was to take charge of
his patient, at the patient's own peril and fortune: But
those three days being passed, it was to be at his own.

For

* De Repub. lib. iii.

† Fab. xliii.

For why should their patron Æsculapius be struck with thunder for restoring Hypolitus from death to life,

*Nam Pater Omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris
Mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere vita,
Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis et artis
Fulmine Phæbigenam Stygias detrussit ad undas*.*

i. e.

For Jupiter, offended at the sight

Of one who had been dead, reitor'd to light;

He struck the man, who did it undertake,

With his fork'd lightning to the stygian lake.

and his followers he pardoned, who send so many men from life to death? A physician, boasting to Nicocles †,

‘ That his art was of great authority : It is so, indeed, said

‘ Nicocles, that can with impunity, kill so many people.’

As to what remains, had I been of their counsel, I would have rendered my discipline more sacred and mysterious; they had begun well, but they have not ended so. It was a good beginning to make Gods and Dæmons the authors of their science, and to have used a peculiar way of speaking and writing, though philosophy concludes it folly to persuade a man to his own good by an unintelligible way : ‘ Ut si quis medicus imperet ut
‘ sumat terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, fan-
‘ guine cassam ‡ : ‘ As if a physician should order his
‘ patient to take snails §.’

It was a good rule in their art, and that accompanies all other vain, fantastic, and supernatural arts, ‘ That
‘ the patients belief should prepossess them with good
‘ hope and assurance of the effect of their operation.’ A rule they hold to such a degree, as to maintain, that the most inexpert and ignorant physician is more proper for a patient that has confidence in him, than the most learned and experienced, whom he is not acquainted with.

Nay, even the choice of most of their drugs, is, in some

* Æneid. lib. vii. v. 769, &c.

† In p. 652. c. 146. of the collection of the monks, just mentioned, printed at the end of Stobæus. Barbeyrac thinks, that this Nicocles, who here banters a certain quack, is the famous king of Salamina, to whom Isocrates addressed one of his orations.

‡ Cic. de divin. lib. ii.

§ Describing it by the epithets of an animal trailing with its slime over the herbage, without blood or bones, and carrying its house upon its back,

some sort, mysterious and divine. The left foot of a tortoise, the urine of a lizard, the dung of an elephant, the liver of a mole, blood drawn from under the wing of a white pigeon; and for us who have the stone (so scornfully they use us in our miseries) the excrement of rats beaten to powder, and such-like fooleries, as rather carry a face of magical enchantment, than of any solid science. I omit the odd number of their pills, the appointment of certain days and feasts of the year, the superstition of gathering their simples at certain hours; and that austere wise look, and grim gesture, which Pliny himself much derides.

But they have, as I said, failed, in that they have not added, to this fine beginning, the making their meetings and consultations more religious and secret, where no profane person ought to have been admitted, no more than to the secret ceremonies of *Æsculapius*: For, by reason of this, it falls out, that, their irresolution, the weakness of their arguments, divination, and foundations *, the sharpness of their disputes, full of hatred, jealousy, and self-interest, coming to be discovered by every one, a man must be very blind, not to discern that he runs a very great hazard in their hands. Who ever saw one physician approve of another's prescription, without taking something away, or adding something to it? By which they sufficiently betray their art, and make it manifest to us, that they therein more consider their own reputation, and consequently their profit, than their patients interest. He was a much wiser man, of their tribe, who, of old, gave it for a rule, 'That only one physician should undertake a sick person;' for, if ~~he~~ do nothing to purpose, one single man's fault can bring no great scandal upon the profession; and, on the contrary, the glory will be great, if he happen to have good success; whereas, when they are many, they, at every turn, bring a disrepute upon their calling, soasmuch as they oftener do hurt than good. They ought to be satisfied with the perpetual disagreement which is found in the opinions of the principal masters, and the antient authors of this science, which is only known to men well read, without discovering to the vulgar the controver-

fics.

* Plin. nat. hist. lib. xxix. c. 1.

sies and various judgments which they nourish and continue amongst themselves.

Shall we have one example of the ancient controversy in physic? Hierophilus lodges the original cause of diseases in the humours; Erasistratus, in the blood of the arteries; Asclepiades, in the invisible atoms gliding in our pores; Alcmaeon, in the exuberancy, or defect of our bodily strength; * Diocles, in the inequality of the elements of which the body is composed, and in the quality of the air we suck in; Strato, in the abundance, crudity and corruption of the nourishment we take; and Hippocrates lodges it in the spirits. There is a certain friend of theirs, whom they know better than I, who declares, upon this subject, 'That the most important science in practice, amongst us, viz. That which is intrusted with our health and preservation, is, by ill luck, the most uncertain, the most perplexed, and the most changeable †.' There is no great danger in mistaking the height of the sun, or in the fraction of some astronomical computation: But here, where our whole being is concerned, 'tis no wisdom to abandon ourselves to the mercy of the agitation of so many contrary winds.

Before the Peloponnesian war, there was no great talk of this science; Hippocrates brought it into repute; and whatever he established, Chrysippus overthrew; after that, Erasistratus, Aristotle's grandson, overthrew what Chrysippus had writ of it †: After these, the Empirics started up, who took quite a contrary method to the ancients, in the management of this art: When the credit of these began a little to decay, Herophilus set another sort of practice on foot, which Asclepiades, in turn, stood up against, and overthrew: The opinion, first, of Themison, and then of Musa, and, after that, those of Vexius Valens, a physician famous through the intelligence he had with Messalina, came in vogue: The empire of physic, in Nero's time, fell to Theffalus, who abolished and condemned all that had been held of it till his time: This man's doctrine was refuted by Crinas of Marseilles, who first brought all medicinal operations by the ephemerides and motions of the stars, and reduced eating

* Celsus, in his preface to lib. i.

† Plin. nat. hist. lib. xxix. c. 1.

† Idem, *ibid*.

eating, sleeping, and drinking, to hours that were most pleasing to Mercury and the Moon: His authority was soon after supplanted by Charinus, a physician of the same city of Marseilles; a man that not only controverted all the ancient practice of physic, but moreover the use of hot public baths, that had been, for so many ages before, in common use: He made men bathe in cold water, even in winter, and plunged his sick patients in the natural waters of brooks. No Roman, till Pliny's time, had ever vouchsafed to practise physic; that office was only performed by Greeks and foreigners, as 'tis now amongst us French, by those that chop Latin: 'For,' as a very great physician says, 'we do not easily receive the medicine we understand, no more than we do the drugs we ourselves gather.' If the nations from whence we fetch our guaiacum, sarsaparilla, and China wood, have any physicians, how great a value must we imagine, by the same recommendation of strangeness, rarity, and dear purchase, do they set upon our cabbage and parley? For, who would dare to condemn things so far fetched, at the hazard of so tedious and dangerous a voyage?

Since these antient alterations in physic, there have been infinite others down to our own times, and, for the most part, such as have been intire and universal; as those, for example, produced, in our own time, by Paracelsus, Fioravanti, and Argenterius; for they, as I am told, do not only alter one receipt, but the whole contexture and system of the body of physic, accusing all others of ignorance and imposition that have practised before them: At this rate, in what a condition the poor patient must be, I leave you to judge.

If we were even assured, that, when they are mistaken, that mistake of theirs does us no harm, tho' it does us no good, it were a reasonable bargain to run the venture of our being made better, without the danger of being worse. Æsop * tells a story, 'That one who had bought a Morisco slave, believing that his black complexion was accidental in him, and occasioned by the ill usage of his former master, caused him to enter into a course of physic, and with great care to be often bathed and drenched: It happened, that the Moor

' was

* Fab. lxxv.

‘ was nothing amended in his tawny complexion, but
 ‘ he wholly lost his former health.’ How oft do we see
 physicians impute the death of their patients to one another? I remember, that, some years ago, there was an
 epidemical disease, very dangerous, and for the most part
 mortal, that raged in the towns about us: The storm
 being over, which had swept away an infinite number of
 men, one of the most famous physicians of all the country
 published a book upon that subject, wherein, upon
 better thoughts, he confesses, ‘ That the letting of blood
 ‘ in that disease was a principal cause of so much damage.’
 Moreover, their authors hold, ‘ That there is
 ‘ no physic which has not something hurtful in it.’ And
 if even those that are of service to us, do, in some measure,
 offend us, what must those do which are totally
 misapplied? For my own part, though there were nothing
 else in the case, I am of opinion, That ‘ to those
 ‘ that loath the taste of physic, it must needs be a dangerous
 ‘ and prejudicial endeavour to force it down at
 ‘ so incommodious a time, and with so much aversion;
 ‘ and believe, that it marvellously disturbs the sick person,
 ‘ at a time when he has so much need of repose.’

And, besides this, if we consider the causes to which
 they usually impute our diseases, they are so light and
 nice, that I thence conclude ‘ a very little error in the
 ‘ dispensation of their drugs may do a great deal of mischief.’
 Now, if the mistake of a physician be so dangerous,
 we are in a scurvy condition; for it is almost impossible
 but he must often fall into those mistakes: He had
 need of too many parts, considerations, and circumstances,
 rightly to adjust his design: He must know the sick
 person’s complexion, his temperature, his humours,
 inclinations, actions, nay, his very thoughts and
 imaginations: He must be assured of the external
 circumstances, of the nature of the place, the quality of
 the air and season, the situation of the planets, and
 their influences: He must know, in the disease, the
 causes, prognostics, affections, and critical days; in the
 drugs, the weight, the power of working, the country,
 the form, the age, and the dispensation; and he must
 know how rightly to proportion and mix them together,
 in order to beget a perfect proportion; wherein if there
 be

be the least error; if, amongst so many springs, there be but any one that draws wrong, 'tis enough to destroy us: God knows with how great difficulty most of these things are to be understood. As (for example) 'how shall a physician find out the true sign of the disease, every disease being capable of an infinite number of indications?' How many doubts and debates have they amongst themselves upon the interpretation of urines? Otherwise, from whence should the continual debates we see amongst them about the knowledge of the disease proceed? How would we excuse the error, they so oft fall into, of taking one thing for another? In the diseases I have had, were there never so little difficulty in the case, I never found 'three of one opinion:' Which I instance, because I love to introduce examples, wherein I myself am concerned.

A Gentleman at Paris was, by order of the physicians, lately cut for the stone in the bladder, where was found 'no more stone than in the palm of his hand;' and a bishop, who was my very good friend, having been earnestly pressed by the major part of the physicians in town, whom he consulted, to suffer himself to be cut in the same place; to which also, upon their words, I added my interest to persuade him: When he was dead, and opened, it appeared that he had 'no stone but in the kidneys. They are least excusable for any error in this disease, by reason that it is, in some sort, palpable; and 'tis by that, that I conclude surgery to be 'much more certain,' by reason that it sees and feels what it does, and so goes less upon conjecture; whereas the physicians have no *Speculum Matricis*, by which to discover our brains, lungs, and liver.

The very promises of physic are not to be credited: For, being to provide against diverse and contrary accidents, that often afflict us at one and the same time, and that have almost a necessary relation, as the heat of the liver, and the coldness of the stomach, they will needs persuade us, that, of their ingredients, one will warm the stomach, and the other cool the liver; one has its commission to go directly to the kidneys, nay, even to the bladder, without scattering its operations by the way, but retaining its power and virtue through all the

stops, in so long a course, even to the place to the service of which it is designed, by its own occult property: One 'will dry the brain,' and another 'will moisten the lungs.' All these things being mixed in one potion, is it not a kind of madness to imagine, or to hope, that these differing virtues should separate themselves from one another in this mixture and confusion, to perform so many various errands? I should very much fear, that they would either lose or change their labels, and take up one another's quarters: And who can imagine but that, in this liquid confusion, these faculties must corrupt, confound, and spoil one another? And is not the danger still more, 'when the making up of this medicine is intrusted to another, to whose honour and mercy we again abandon our lives?'

As we have doublet and breeches makers, distinct trades, to cloath us, and are so much the better fitted, while each of them meddles only with his own pattern, and has less to trouble his head withal, than a taylor who undertakes all; and as, in matter of diet, great persons, for their better convenience, and to the end they may be better served, have distinct offices, of boilers and roasters, which one cook, who should undertake the whole service, could not so well perform; so should we be treated in our cures. The Egyptians had reason to reject this 'general profession of a physician,' and to divide it to several peculiar diseases, allotting to every part of the body a particular operator: For this part was more properly, and with less confusion, provided for, because it especially regarded this alone: Ours are not aware, that 'he who provides for all, provides for nothing;' and that the 'entire government of this microcosm' is more than they are able to undertake. Whilst they were afraid of 'stopping a looseness, lest they should put him into a fever,' they killed me a friend that was worth more than the whole pack of them put together. They counterpoise their own divinations with the present evils; and because they will not 'cure the brain to the prejudice of the stomach, they offend both with their mutinous and tumultuary drugs.'

As to the variety and the weakness of the reasons of this art, it is more manifest than in any other art.

'Aperitive

• Aperitive medicines are proper for a man subject to the
• stone, by reason that, opening and dilating the passa-
• ges, they help forward the slimy matter, whereof
• gravel and the stone are ingendered, and convey that
• downward which begins to harden and gather in the
• kidneys. Aperitive things are dangerous for a man
• subject to the stone, by reason that, opening and dila-
• ting the passages, they help forward, towards the reins,
• the matter that has a tendency to breed the stone,
• which, by their own propension that way, being apt
• to seize it, 'tis not to be imagined but that a great
• deal of what has been so conveyed thither must remain
• behind. Moreover, if the medicine happen to meet
• with any thing a little too gross to be carried through
• all those narrow passages it must pass, in order to be
• expelled, that obstruction, whatever it is, being stir-
• red by these aperitive things, and thrown into those
• narrow passages, coming to stop them, will occasion a
• most certain and most painful death.' They have the
like consistency in the advices they give us for the regi-
men of life. 'It is good to make water often, for we
• experimentally see, that, in letting it lie long in the blad-
• der, we give it time to let fall the sediment which will
• concrete into a stone: It is not good to make water of-
• ten, for the heavy excrements it carries along with it
• will not be voided without violence,' as we see by ex-
perience, that a torrent which runs with force, washes
the ground it rolls over much cleaner than the course of
a slow and languid stream. Likewise 'it is good to
• have often to do with women, for that opens the pas-
• sages, and helps to evacuate sand: It is also very ill to
• have often do with women, because it heats, tires, and
• weakens the reins. It is good to bathe frequently in
• hot waters, forasmuch as that relaxes and mollifies the
• places where the sand and gravel lurks; and it is also
• ill, by reason that this application of external heat
• helps the reins to bake, harden, and petrify the matter
• therein disposed. For those who are at the Bath, it is
• most healthful to eat little at night, to the end that
• the waters they are to drink the next morning, may
• have a better operation upon an empty stomach; on

S 2

• the

'the contrary, it is better to eat little at dinner, that it hinder not the operation of the waters, which is not yet perfect; and not to oppress the stomach so soon after the other labour, but leave the office of digestion to the night, which will much better perform it than the day, when the body and mind are in perpetual motion and action.' Thus do they juggle and cant, in all their disputes, at our expence, and cannot give me one proposition, against which I cannot erect a contrary of equal force. Let them then no longer exclaim against those, who, in this confusion, suffer themselves to be gently guided by their own appetite, and the advice of nature, and commit themselves to the common fortune.

I have seen, in my travels, almost all the famous baths of Christendom, and, for some years past, have begun to make use of them myself; for I look upon 'Bathing' as generally wholesome, and believe, that we suffer no slight inconveniences in our health, by having left off the custom, that was generally observed, in former times, almost by all nations, and is yet in many, 'of bathing every day;' and I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse by having our limbs crusted, and our pores stopped with dirt and filth: And as to the drinking of the waters, fortune has, in the first place, rendered them not at all unacceptable to my taste; and, secondly, they are natural and simple, and, at least, carry no danger with them, if they do no good: Of which, the infinite croud of people, of all sorts of constitutions, that repair thither, I take to be a sufficient warrant: And although I have not there observed any extraordinary and miraculous effects, but, on the contrary, having more curiously than ordinary enquired into it, I have found all the reports of such operations, that have been spread abroad in those places, ill grounded and false, and those that believe them (as people are willing to be gulled in what they desire) deceived in them; yet I have seldom known any that have been made worse by those waters, and a man cannot honestly deny but that they beget a better appetite, help digestion, and do, in some sort, revive us, if we do not go to them in too weak a condition, which I would dissuade every one from doing. They have not the virtue to
raise

raise men from desperate and inveterate diseases, but they may help in some light indisposition, or prevent some threatening alteration. Whoever does not bring along with him so much chearfulness as to enjoy the pleasure of the company he will there meet, and of the walks and exercises, to which the beauty of the places, in which those waters are commonly situate, invites us, doubtless loses the best and surest part of their effect. For this reason I have hitherto chosen to go to those of the most pleasant situation, where there was the most conveniency of lodging, provision, and company; as the baths of Bagnieres in France, those of Plombieres on the frontiers of Germany and Lorrain, those of Baden in Switzerland, those of Lucca in Tuscany, and especially those of Della-Villa, which I have the most frequented, and at several seasons.

Every nation has particular opinions, touching their use, and different rules and methods in using them, and all of them, according to what I have seen, almost of like effect. Drinking of them is not at all received in Germany; they bathe for all diseases, and will lie dabling in the water almost from sun to sun. In Italy, when they drink nine days, they bathe at least thirty, and commonly drink the water mixed with drugs to make it work the better. We are here ordered to walk to digest it; they are there kept in bed, after taking it, till it be worked off, their stomachs and feet being continually chafed by hot cloths: And as the Germans generally use cupping and scarification in the bath; so the Italians have their doccie, which are certain channels of this hot water brought through pipes; and with them bathe an hour in the morning, and as much in the afternoon for a month together, either the head, stomach, or any other part where the pain lies. There are infinite other different customs in every country, or, rather, they have no manner of resemblance to one another. By which you may see, that this little part of physic, to which alone I have submitted, though the least depending upon art of all others, has yet a great share of the confusion and uncertainty every-where else manifest in this profession.

The poets say whatever they please with greater emphasis and grace; witness these two epigrams:

*Alcon besterno signum Jovis attigit. Ille,
Quamvis marmoreus, vim patitur medici:
Ecce hodie jussus transferri ex æde vetusta,
Effertur, quamvis sit Deus, atque lapis *.*

i. e.

Alcon did yesterday Jove's statue touch,
Which, although marble, suffer'd by it much;
For though it is a God, and made of stone,
From its old seat 'tis now, by order, gone.
And the other,

*Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, cœnavit et idem,
Inventus mane est mortuus Andragoras.
Tam subitæ mortis causam Faustine requiris?
In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem †.*

i. e.

Andragoras bath'd, supp'd, and merry went to bed
Last night, but in the morning was found dead:
Would't know, Faustinus, what was his disease?
He dreaming saw the quack, Hermocrates.

Upon this I will relate two stories: The baron of Caupene in Chalosse, and I, have betwixt us the advowson of a benefice of great extent, at the foot of our mountains, called Lahontan. It is with the inhabitants of this angle, as 'tis said of those of the vale of Angrougne: 'They lived a peculiar sort of life, had particular fashions, cloaths, and manners,' and were ruled and governed by certain particular laws and usages, received from father to son, to which they submitted, without other constraint than the reverence due to custom. This little state had continued from all antiquity in so happy a condition, that no neighbouring judge was ever put to the trouble of enquiring into their quarrels, no advocate ever retained to give them counsel, nor stranger ever called in to compose their differences; nor was ever any of them seen so reduced as to go a begging. They avoided all alliances and traffic with the rest of mankind, that they might not corrupt the purity of their own government; till, as they say, 'one of them, in the memory of their fathers, having a mind spurred on with
' a noble

* Auson. epig. 74.

† Mart. lib. vi. epig. 53.

‘ a noble ambition, contrived, in order to bring his name
‘ into credit and reputation, to make one of his sons
‘ something more than ordinary, and, having put him to
‘ learn to write, made him, at last, a brave scrivener for
‘ the village: This fellow, being grown up, began to
‘ disdain their ancient customs, and to buz into the peo-
‘ ple’s ears the pomp of the other parts of the nation :
‘ The first prank he played was, to advise a friend of
‘ his, whom some-body had offended by sawing off the
‘ horns of one of his she-goats, to make his complaint
‘ of it to the king’s judges thereabouts, and so he went
‘ on in this practice, till he spoiled all.’

In the tail of this corruption, they say, there happen-
en another of worse consequence, by means of a phy-
sician, who fell in love with one of their daughters, had a
mind to marry her, and to live amongst them. ‘ This
‘ man first of all began to teach them the names of fe-
‘ vers, rheums, and imposthumes, the seat of the heart,
‘ liver, and intestines, a science, till then, utterly un-
‘ known to them; and instead of garlic with which they
‘ were wont to cure all manner of diseases, how painful
‘ or extreme soever, he taught them, though it were but
‘ for a cough, or any little cold, to take strange mix-
‘ tures and began to make a trade, not only of their
‘ healths, but of their lives. They swear, that, till
‘ then, they never perceived the evening air to be of-
‘ fensive to the head, nor that to drink, when they were
‘ hot, was hurtful, nor that the winds of autumn were
‘ more unwholesome than those of the spring; that, since
‘ this use of physic, they find themselves oppressed with
‘ a legion of unusual diseases, and that they perceive a
‘ general decay in their wonted vigour, and their lives
‘ are cut shorter by the half.’ This is the first of my
stories.

The other is, that, before I was afflicted with the stone,
hearing that the blood of a he-goat was, with many in
very great esteem, and looked upon as a celestial manna,
rained down upon these latter ages for the safety and pre-
servation of the lives of men, and, having heard it spo-
ken of, by men of understanding, for an admirable drug,
and of infallible operation, I, who have ever thought
myself subject to all the accidents that can befall other
men,

men, had a mind, in my perfect health, to furnish myself with this admirable medicine, and therefore gave order to have a goat fed at home according to the receipt: For he must be taken up in the hottest months of summer, and must only have aperitive herbs given to eat, and white-wine to drink. I went home, by chance, the very day he was to be killed; and one came and told me, that the cook had found two or three great balls in his paunch, that rattled against one another amongst what he had eaten: I was curious to have all his entrails brought before me, where, having caused the skin that inclosed them to be cut, there tumbled out three great lumps, as light as sponges, so that they appeared to be hollow; but, as to the rest, hard and firm without, and spotted all over with various dead colours: One was perfectly round, and of the bigness of a little ball; the other two something less, of an imperfect roundness, as seeming not to be arrived at their full growth: I find, by enquiry of people accustomed to open these animals, that it is a rare and unusual accident: 'Tis likely these are stones of the same nature with ours, and, if so, it must needs be a very vain hope, in those who have the stone, to extract their cure from the blood of a beast, which was itself in a way to die of the same disease: For to say, that the blood does not participate of this contagion, and does not alter its wonted virtue, it is rather to be believed, that nothing is ingendered in a body but by the conspiracy and communication of all the parts: The whole mass works together, though one part contributes more to the work than another, according to the diversity of operations: Wherefore it is very likely, that there was some petrifying quality in all the parts of this goat. It was not so much for the fear of the future, and for myself, that I was curious of this experiment, but because it falls out in mine, as it does in many other families, that the women store up such small wares for the service of the common people, using the same receipt in fifty several diseases, and such a receipt as they will not take themselves, and yet triumph in their good successes.

As to what remains, I honour physicians, not according to the rule, for necessity, (for to this passage may be added another of the prophet, reproving king Aha for ha-
ving

ving recourse to a physician) but for their own sakes, having known many honest amiable men of that profession. I do not attack them, but their art; and do not much blame them for making their advantage of our folly, for most men do the same. Many callings, both of greater and less dignity than theirs, have no other foundation or support than abuse of the public. When I am sick I call them in, if they come by my door, only to have a little chat, and see them as others do. I give them leave 'to command me to keep myself warm,' because I chuse to do it, and to appoint leeks or lettuce for my broth; to order me white-wine or claret, and all other things, in like manner, at their own pleasure, which are indifferent to my palate and custom. I know, very well, that I do nothing for them in so doing, because sharpness and odd tastes are accidents of the very essence of physic. Lycurgus ordered wine for the sick Spartans: Why? Because they abominated the drinking of it when they were well: As a gentleman, a neighbour of mine, takes it for a most wholesome medicine in his fever, because that naturally he mortally hates the taste of it.

How many do we see, amongst them, of my humour, that despise taking physic themselves, are men of liberal diet, and live a quite contrary sort of life to what they prescribe to others? What is this but flatly to abuse our simplicity? For their own lives and healths are no less dear to them than ours are to us, and they would accommodate their effects to their own rules, if they did not themselves know how false they are.

'Tis the fear of death, and of pain, an impatience of the disease, and a violent and indiscreet desire of a present cure that so blind us: And 'tis pure cowardice that makes our belief so pliable and easy; and yet most men do not so much believe as they acquiesce and permit, for I hear them find fault, and complain, as well as we: But they resolve at last; What shall I do then? As if impatience were, of itself, a better remedy than patience. Is there any one of those who have suffered themselves to be captivated by this miserable subjection, that does not equally surrender himself to all sorts of impostures? Who does not give up himself alike to the mercy of whoever
has

has the impudence to promise him a cure? The * Babylonians carried their sick into the public square, the physician was the people, where every one that passed by, being in humanity and civility obliged to inquire of their condition, gave some advice according to his own experience. We do little better, there being not so silly a woman, whose spells and drenches we do not make use of; and, according to my humour, if I were to take physic, I would sooner chuse to take theirs than any other, because, at least, it will do no harm. What Homer and Plato said of the Egyptians, that they were all physicians, may be said of all people; there is no one that does not boast of some rare receipt, and who will not venture it upon his neighbour, if he will trust him. I was, the other day, in company where somebody of my fraternity † told us of a sort of pill made up of a hundred and odd ingredients: It made us very merry, and was a singular consolation, for what rock could withstand so great a battery? And yet I hear, by those who made trial of it, that the least atom of gravel would not stir for it.

I cannot take my hand from this paper, before I have added a word or two more, concerning the assurance they give us of the certainty of their drugs, from the experiments they have made. The greatest part, and, I think, above two thirds of the medicinal virtues consist in the quintessence, or occult property of the simples, of which we can have no other information than the use: For quintessence is no other than a quality, of which we cannot, by our reason, find out the cause: In such proofs, those, which they pretend to have acquired by the inspiration of some dæmon, I am content to receive (for I meddle not with miracles) as also the proofs which are drawn from things, that, upon some other account, oft fall into use amongst us; as if in wool, wherewith we are wont to cloath ourselves, there has accidentally some occult desiccative property been found out of curing kibed heels, or as if, in the radish we eat for food, there has been found out some aperitive operation. Galen

* 'Twas a law wisely established, says Herodotus, lib. i. p. 91.

† Meaning, that was troubled with the stone.

len reports, 'That a man happened to be cured of a leprosy by drinking wine out of a vessel into which a viper had crept by chance.' In which example, we find the means, and a very likely guide to this experience; as we also do in those which physicians pretend to have been directed to by the example of some beasts: But in most of their other experiments, wherein they declare to have been conducted by fortune, and to have had no other guide than chance, I find the progress of this information incredible. Suppose a man looking round about him upon the infinite number of things, plants, animals, and metals, I do not know where he would begin his trial; and though his first fancy should fix him upon an elk's horn, wherein there must be a very gentle and easy belief, he will yet find himself perplexed in his second operation. There are so many maladies, and so many circumstances laid before him, that, before he can arrive at the certainty of the point, to which the perfection of his experience should arrive, human sense will be nonplussed: And before he can, amongst this infinity of things, find out what this horn is; amongst so many diseases, what the epilepsy; amongst the many constitutions, the melancholic; the many seasons in winter, the many nations in the French, the many ages in age, the many celestial mutations in the conjunction of Venus and Saturn, and the many parts in man's body, to a finger: And being, in all this, directed neither by argument, conjectures, example, nor divine inspiration, but by the sole motion of fortune, it must be by a fortune perfectly artificial, regular, and methodical. And, after the cure is performed, how can he assure himself, that it was not 'because the disease was arrived at its period, or an effect of chance? or the operation of something else that he had eaten, drank, or touched that day? or by virtue of his grandmother's prayers?' And, moreover, had this experiment been perfect, how many times was it reiterated, and this long bead-roll of fortunes and encounters strung anew from chance to conclude a certain rule? And, when the rule is concluded, by whom I pray you? Of so many millions, there are but three men who take upon them to record their experiments: And must chance needs

needs just meet one of these? What if another, and a hundred others have made contrary experiments? We might, peradventure, have some light in this, were all the judgments and arguments of men known to us. But that three witnesses, three doctors, should lord it over all mankind, is against all reason. It were fit that human nature should have deputed and culled them out, and that they were declared our comptrollers by express letters of attorney.

To Madam DE DURAS.

MADAM,

‘THE last time you came to see me, you found
 ‘ me at work upon this chapter, and as it may
 ‘ happen, that these trifles may, one day, fall into your
 ‘ ladyship’s hands, I desire also, that they testify, how
 ‘ much the author will think himself honoured by any
 ‘ favour you shall please to shew them. You will there
 ‘ find the same air and behaviour you have observed
 ‘ in his conversation, and, though I might have assumed
 ‘ some better and more honourable garb than my
 ‘ own, I would not chuse it; for I require nothing more
 ‘ of these writings, but to present me to your memory,
 ‘ such as I naturally am. The same conditions and faculties,
 ‘ your ladyship has been pleased to receive and
 ‘ entertain with much more honour and courtesy than
 ‘ they deserve, I will put together (but without alteration)
 ‘ in one solid body, that may, peradventure, continue
 ‘ some years, or some days, after I am gone;
 ‘ where you may find them again, when your ladyship
 ‘ shall please to refresh your memory, without putting you
 ‘ to any greater trouble, neither are they worth it. I desire
 ‘ you should continue the favour of your friendship to
 ‘ me, by the same qualities by which it was acquired.

‘ I am not at all ambitious, that any one should love
 ‘ and esteem me more dead than living. The humour
 ‘ of Tiberius is ridiculous, but yet common, who was
 ‘ more solicitous to extend his renown to posterity, than
 ‘ to render himself valuable and acceptable to men of
 ‘ his own time. If I was one of those to whom the
 ‘ world could owe commendation, I would acquit the
 ‘ one half to have the other in hand, that their praises
 ‘ might

‘ might come quick and crowding about me, more thick than long, more full than durable ; and let them cease, in God’s name, with my knowledge, and when the sweet sound can no longer ring in my ears. It were an idle humour to go about, now that I am going to forsake the commerce of men, to offer myself to them by a new recommendation.

‘ I make no account of the goods I could not employ in the service of my life : And such as I am, I will be elsewhere than in paper : My art and industry have been ever directed to set a value upon myself ; and my studies, to teach me to do, and not to write. I have made it my whole business to frame my life. This has been my profession and employment. I am less a book-maker than any thing else. I have coveted so much understanding for the service of my present and real conveniencies, and not to lay up a stock for my heirs. Whoever has any merit, let him make it appear in his ordinary discourses, in his courtships, and his quarrels ; in play, in bed, at table, in the management of his affairs, in his œconomy. I see some that make good books in ragged breeches, who, if they would have been ruled by me, should first have mended their breeches. Ask a Spartan, whether he had rather be a good orator, or a good soldier ? And, if I was asked the same question, I would rather chuse to be a good cook, had I not one already to serve me. Good God ! Madam, how should I hate the reputation of being a good writer, and an ass and a sot in every thing else : Yet I had rather be a fool in any thing, than to have made so ill a choice wherein to employ my talent : And I am so far from expecting to gain any new reputation by these follies, that I shall come off pretty well, if I lose nothing by them of that little I had before : For, besides that this dead painting will take from my natural being, it has no resemblance to my better condition, which is also much lapsed from my former vigour and chearfulness, and looks faded and withered : I am sunk towards the bottom of the barrel, which begins to taste of the lees.

‘ For the rest, madam, I should not have dared to make so bold with the mysteries of physic, considering

‘ the esteem that your ladyship, and so many others
 ‘ have of it, had I not had encouragement from their
 ‘ own authors. I think they have, among the ancients,
 ‘ only two Latinists, Pliny and Celsus. If these ever
 ‘ fall into your hands, you will find, that they speak
 ‘ much more rudely of their art than I do; I but pinch
 ‘ it, they cut the throat of it.’

Pliny, amongst other things, twits them with this, that when they are at the end of the rope, that is, when they have done the utmost of what they are able to do, they have a pretty device to save themselves, of recommending their patients, after they have teased and tormented them with their drugs and diets to no purpose, some to vows and miracles, and others to hot baths. ‘ (Be not angry, madam, he speaks not of those
 ‘ in our parts, who are under the protection of your
 ‘ house, and all Gramontins.) They have a third way
 ‘ to save their own credit, by ridding their hands of us,
 ‘ and securing themselves from the reproaches we might
 ‘ cast in their teeth, of the little amendment we find,
 ‘ when they have had us so long in their hands, that
 ‘ they have but one more invention left wherewith to
 ‘ amuse us; which is, ‘ To send us to the better air of
 ‘ some other country.’ This, madam, is enough; I
 ‘ hope you will give me leave to return to my former
 ‘ discourse, from which I have so far digressed, the bet-
 ‘ ter to divert you.’

It was, I think, Pericles *, who being asked, ‘ How
 ‘ he did? You may judge, says he, by these,’ shewing
 some little labels he had tied about his neck and arms.
 By this he would infer, that he must needs be very sick,
 when he was reduced to a necessity of having recourse to
 such idle things, and of suffering himself to be equipped.
 I don’t say, but, some day or other, I may be such a
 fool as to commit my life and health to the mercy and
 government of physicians. I may fall into such fren-
 zy: I dare not be responsible for my future constancy:
 But then, if any one ask me, ‘ How I do?’ I may also
 answer, as Pericles did, ‘ You may judge by this,’ shew-
 ing my hand clutched up with six drachms of opium: It
 will be a very evident sign of a violent sickness; and my
 judgment

* Plutarch in the life of Pericles, c. 24.

judgment will be very much unhinged. If once fear and impatience get such an advantage over me, it may very well be concluded, that there is a dreadful fever in my mind. I have taken the pains to plead this cause, which I don't very much understand, a little to back and support the natural aversion to drugs, and the practice of physic, which I have derived from my ancestors, to the end it may not be a mere stupid and temerarious aversion, but have a little more form; and also, that they who shall see me so firm against the exhortations and menaces that shall be given me, when my infirmities are at the worst, may not think 'tis mere obstinacy in me; or lest any one be so ill-natured, as to judge it to be from a view to glory: For it would be a strange sort of ambition to seek to gain honour by an action that my gardener, or my groom, can perform as well as I. Certainly, I have not a heart so puffed up, and so windy, that I should exchange so solid a pleasure as florid health, and a good plight, for an airy, spiritual, and imaginary pleasure. Glory, even that of the four sons of Aymon, is too dear bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him three smart fits of the stone. Give me health, in God's name! Such as love our physic, may also have good, great, and convincing considerations; I do not hate whimsies contrary to my own. I am so far from being angry to see a difference betwixt mine and other men's judgments, and so far from rendering myself unsociable with men, for being of another sense and party than mine, that, on the contrary, (the most general course, that nature has followed, being variety, and more in souls than bodies, soasmuch as they are of a more supple substance, and more susceptible of forms) I find it much more rare to see our humours and designs agree: And there never were, in the world, two opinions any more alike, than two hairs, or two grains: Their most universal quality is diversity.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

E S S A Y S

O F

MICHAEL Seigneur de *Montaigne*.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I. *Of Profit and Honesty.*

THERE's no man but at one time or other says a silly thing; but the worst on't is when he affects it.

*Næ ille magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit. **

The man in troth with much ado

Has prov'd that one and one make two.

This does not touch me. My nonsense slips from me with as little care as it merits, and it is well it does so. I would quit it on a sudden for the little there is in it of value, and neither buy nor sell it for more than the weight. I speak on paper as I do to the first man I meet; and that this is true, observe what follows.

Who would not abhor treachery when Tiberius would not admit of it in a matter of such importance to him? † He had word sent from Germany that if he thought fit, they would by poison rid him of Arminius, who was the most powerful enemy the Romans had, he having treated them very basely in the time of Varus, and being the only man that hindred the increase of their empire in those countries. The answer he returned was,

* Terence *Heauton*. act 3. scene 9.

† Tacit. *annal*. l 2. c. 88

was, That it was the custom of the Romans to be revenged on their enemies by open force, sword in hand; not clandestinely, nor by fraud: wherein he preferr'd the thing that was honourable, to the profitable. He was (you will say) a hector. I believe as much; but that's no great wonder in the gentlemen of his profession. But the acknowledgment of virtue is no less valid by its coming from the lips of him who hates it, forasmuch as truth forces it from him; and if he will not embrace it in his breast, he puts it on at least by way of ornament.

Our structure, both external and internal, is full of imperfection; yet there is nothing in nature but what is of use, not even inutility itself. There is nothing in this universe which has not some proper place in it. Our being is cemented with certain scurvy qualities: Ambition, jealousy, envy, revenge, superstition, despair, have so natural a lodgment in us that the image of them is discern'd in the brute beasts; nay, cruelty itself, a vice so much out of nature, for even in the midst of compassion, we feel within us an unaccountable bitter-sweet titillation of ill-natur'd pleasure in seeing another suffer; and even children are sensible of it.

Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis.

*E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem *.*

'Tis sweet from land to see a storm at sea,

And others sinking whilst ourselves are free.

Whoever should divest man of the seeds of such qualities would destroy the fundamental conditions of human life. Likewise in all governments there are necessary offices, not only abject but vicious also. Vices have their department there, and are employ'd as cement to connect us together, like poison that is administer'd for the preservation of our health. If they become excusable forasmuch as they are necessary for us, and because the public necessity disguises their real qualities, we are to resign this part to the strongest and boldest citizens, who sacrifice their honour and conscience, as the ancients sacrificed their lives, for the good of their country. We that are weaker play those parts that are more easy and less hazardous. The public weal requires that a man shou'd betray, tell lies, and commit murder: Let us

T 3

leave

* Lucret. lib. ii. v. 1, 2.

leave this commission to men that are more obedient and more supple.

I have really been often vex'd to see judges, by fraud and false hopes of favour or pardon, draw in a criminal to confess his fact; and to observe what recourse they therein have to tricking and impudence. It would be of good service to justice, and even to Plato himself, who countenances this manner of proceeding, to furnish me with other means more suitable to my inclination. 'Tis a malicious kind of justice, and I think 'tis as much offended by itself as by others. I said not long since, in some company, that as I should be very sorry to betray any private man for the service of my prince, I should be very loth to betray my prince to any private man. And as I have an aversion to cheat another, so I should hate to be deceived so myself, and will not much as furnish any pretext or occasion for it.

In the few concerns which I have had to negotiate betwixt our princes, in those divisions and subdivisions by which we are at this time rent, I have nicely avoided leading them into any mistakes of me, and their deceiving others by my mask. The people of this profession are the most reserved, and pretend to be the men of the greatest moderation, and the nearest conformity to the sentiments of those with whom they have to do. I declare simply what I sincerely think, and in my own manner; being a tender negociator, and but a learner, who had rather fail of success, than be wanting to myself. And yet it has hitherto proved so lucky (for surely it is chiefly owing to fortune) that few things have pass'd from hand to hand with less suspicion, and more favour and secrecy. I have an open manner, which readily insinuates itself, and gains credit upon the first acquaintance. Simplicity, and the naked truth, in what age soever, make their way, and find their account; and moreover the freedom of men, who treat without any interest of their own, is neither hateful nor suspected: And such may very well make use of the answer of Hyparides to the Athenians, when they complain'd of his rough way of speaking, 'Gentlemen, do not regard whether I am free; but whether I am so without a fee, and without
 any

‘ any advantage from it to my own affairs *.’ My freedom of speech has also naturally clear’d me of all suspicion of dissimulation by its vehemency (leaving nothing unsaid, how pungent and cutting soever, so that I could not have said worse behind their backs) and by the full discovery it made of simplicity and indifference. I aim at no other advantage by my pleading than to plead, and tack no long arguments or propositions to it. Every plea plays its own part, hit or miss. For the rest, I am not sway’d by any passion either of love or hatred to the great men, nor is my will hamper’d by the sense of any particular injury or obligation. I honour our kings with an affection that is simply loyal and respectful, being neither prompted to, nor restrain’d from it, by private interest; and for this I value myself. Nor does the general and just cause attract me otherwise than with moderation and coolness. I am not bound by such cogent and penetrating pre-contracts and engagements. Anger and hatred are not within the sphere of justice, and are passions of no use but to those who are not to be kept to their duty by mere reason, ‘ *Utatur motu animi, qui uti ratione non potest,*’ i. e. he that can not be guided by reason is governed by passion. All lawful intentions are temperate in themselves, if otherwise, they become seditious and unlawful. This is what makes me walk every where with my head erect, a frank countenance, and an open heart. ’Tis a truth, and I fear not to confess it, I could, were it necessary, hold a candle to St. Michael, and another to his serpent †, after the manner of the old woman. I will follow the right side even to the fire, but will keep out of it if possible. Let Montaigne be overwhelm’d in the public ruin, if it must be so; but if it be not necessary, I should thank my stars for his safety, and I make use of all the length of line which my duty allows me for his preservation. Was it not Atticus, who being on the just but losing side, preserved

* Plutarch in his treatise of the difference betwixt the flatterer and the friend, c. 24.

† Montaigne means, that he should be inclined to make his court to both the opposite parties, as the old woman did who offer’d one wax-taper to St. Michael the archangel, and another to the dragon, which is represented fighting with St. Michael. This woman’s action, has given rise to a sort of proverb.

served himself by his moderation in that universal shipwreck of the world, among so many various changes and revolutions? For a private man as he was, this is more easy; and upon an occasion of the like nature I think men are very excusable for not being ambitious to meddle or make.

For a man to be wavering and trimming, to keep his affection unmoved, and without inclination, in the disturbances of his country, and in a public division, I think it neither decent nor honest, 'Ea non media, sed
' nulla via est, velut eventum expectantium, quò fortunæ consilia sua applicent,' i. e. that is not taking the middle way, but really no way at all, like those who wait for the event of things in order to take their resolutions accordingly *. This may be allow'd with respect to the feuds of our neighbours; and accordingly Gelo the tyrant of Syracuse suspended his resolution in the Barbarians war against the Grecians, keeping an embassy at Delphos with presents to lie upon the watch to see to which side fortune would incline, and to take the critical minute to make the victors his friends †. But it would be a sort of treason to proceed after this manner in our own domestic affairs, wherein a man must necessarily be of one side or the other; tho' for a man to sit still, who has no office nor express command to urge him to action, I think it more excusable (and yet this is no excuse for myself) than to meddle in foreign broils, to which, however, according to our laws, no man is compell'd. And yet even those who wholly engage themselves in such broils, may act with such temper and moderation that the storm shall fly over their heads without bursting on them. Had we not reason to expect as much from M. de Morvilliers, the late bishop of Orleans? And among those who behave valiantly at this time, I know some of so much candour and good nature that they will continue steady, however injurious may be the change or fate which heaven is preparing for us. I am of opinion, that it properly belongs to kings to quarrel with kings, and laugh at those bullies who out of mere wantonness push themselves into quarrels where the odds are so great. For a man has no particular quarrel with a prince, because

* Titus Livy, lib. xxxii. c. 21.

† Herodot, lib. vii. p. 498.

because he marches against him publickly and courageously, for his own honour, and according to his duty. If he does not love such a personage, he does better, he esteems him. And the cause of the laws, and the defence of the ancient government, are always remarkable for this, that such even as for their own private interest disturb the state, excuse, if they do not honour, its defenders.

But we ought not, tho' 'tis our daily practice, to call a bitterness and roughness of temper, which spring from private interest and passion, by the name of duty, nor a treacherous and malicious conduct, by the name of courage. They call their propension to mischief and violence by the name of zeal. 'Tis not the cause by which they are warm'd, but their interest. They kindle a war, not because 'tis just, but because 'tis war.

Nothing hinders but men may behave commodiously and loyally too among those who are of the adverse party. Carry yourself, if not with an affection, always equal, (for it is capable of different degrees) at least moderate, such as may not so engage you to one party, that it may challenge all that you are able to do; and content yourself also with a moderate degree of their favour, and to swim in the troubled water without attempting to fish in it.

The other way of a man's offering himself to serve both parties, is much more conscientious than prudent. Does not he to whom you betray another person with whom you was on good terms, know that you will do as much by him another time? He holds you for a villain, yet he hears what you have to say, draws intelligence from you, and works his own ends thro' your treachery; for double-dealing men are useful in what they bring, but care must be taken that they carry away as little as possible.

I say nothing to one party that I may not upon a fit occasion say to the other, with a little alteration of accent; and report nothing but things either indifferent or known, or what is of common consequence. I cannot allow myself for any consideration to tell them a lye. What is trusted with me as a secret, I religiously conceal; but I take as few trusts upon me of that nature as I can:

The

The secrets of princes are a troublesome burden to those who are not interested in them. I very willingly indent that they trust me with little, but that they rely with confidence upon what I tell them. I have always known more than I desired. One open way of speaking introduces another open way of speaking, and draws out discoveries like wine and love. In my opinion Philpides answer'd king Lysimachus very discreetly, who asking him what share of his estate he should bestow upon him, 'What you will, said he, provided it be none of your secrets *.' I see that every one grumbles and is displeas'd if the bottom of such affairs as he is concern'd in be conceal'd from him, or that there be any reservation used in the things: For my part I am content to know no more of the matter than what 'tis intended I should be employ'd in, nor do I desire that my knowledge should exceed or constrain my promise. If I must serve for an instrument of deceit, let it be at least with a salvo to my conscience. I am not willing to be reputed a servant so affectionate or so loyal, as to be thought a fit tool to betray any man. He that is faithless to himself may well be so to his sovereign. But princes don't accept of men by halves, and despise services that are limited and conditional. There is no remedy for it. I tell them frankly how far I can go and no farther; for a slave I should not be but with reason, and yet I could hardly submit to that condition. And they also are to blame who exact from a freeman the same subjection and obligation to their service, as they do from him they have made and bought, or whose fortune depends particularly and expressly upon them. The laws have rid me of a great anxiety; they have chosen me a fortune, and given me a guardian. Every other superiority and obligation ought to be relative to that appointment, and to be curtail'd. Not that if my affection should incline me otherwise, I should consent to it immediately. The will and the desire make a law for themselves, but actions are to receive theirs from public authority. All this procedure of mine is somewhat different from our common forms; it would not be productive of great effects, nor would it be of long duration. Innocence itself could not in this

age

* Plutarch of curiosity, c. iv.

age of ours either negotiate without dissimulation, or traffick without lying: and indeed public employments do not at all suit my taste; what my profession requires I perform in the most private manner I can. While I was but young I was deeply engaged in business, and succeeded; but I took myself off of it in good time. I have since often avoided meddling in it, rarely accepted, and never ask'd it, turning my back to ambition; and if not like the watermen who advance forward while they look backward, yet so nevertheless that I am not so much oblig'd to my resolution as to my good fortune that I was not embark'd in it: For there are ways less displeasing to my taste, and more suitable to my ability, by which if she had heretofore call'd me to the public service, and my own advancement in the world's opinion, I know I should in spite of all my arguments have pursued them. Such as commonly say in opposition to what I profess, that what I call freedom, simplicity and plainness in my manners, is art and finessè, and rather prudence than goodness, industry than nature, good sense than good luck, do me more honour than disgrace, but really they make my subtilty too refined: And whoever has follow'd me close, and pry'd narrowly into me, I will give him up the point if he does not confess that there is no rule in their school that cou'd answer to this natural motion, and maintain an appearance of liberty and licence so equal and inflexible thro' so many various and crooked paths, and that all their care and ingenuity could not have carry'd them through. The path of truth is but one and simple; but that of private advantage, and of the conveniency of the business which a man has upon his hands, is double, uneven and casual: I have often seen these counterfeit and artificial liberties taken, but for the most part without success. They are apt to relish of the ass in *Æsop's* fables, which, in emulation of the dog, fawningly clap'd his two fore-feet upon his master's shoulders, for which his master gave him twice the number of blows with a cudgel, as the dog had caresses for the like sort of complaisance. 'Id maximè quemque decet, quod est
'cujusque suum maximè *,' i. e. That is most becoming to every man which is most natural to him. I am

not

* Cicero de offic. lib. i. c. 31.

not willing to deprive deceit of its due rank, that would be mistaking the world. There are vices that are lawful as there are many actions either good or excusable, that are in a strict sense illegal.

The justice, which in itself is natural and universal, is otherwise and more nobly regulated than that other particular and national justice, which is restrain'd to the necessity of our state affairs. ' *Veri juris germanæque justitiæ solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus: umbrâ et imaginibus utimur* *, i. e. We retain no solid and express model of true law and perfect justice; we have only a shadow and faint sketch of it; insomuch that † the sage Dandamis hearing the lives of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, read, esteem'd them to be great personages in every other respect, but in their too great subjection to the reverence of the laws, for the authority and support of which, true virtue must abate very much of its original vigour; and many vicious actions are introduced, not only by their permission, but also by their persuasion. ' *Ex senatus consultis plebisque scitis scelera exercentur* ‡, i. e. The commission of certain crimes is authoriz'd by the decrees of the senate and the common people. I follow the common phrase, which makes a distinction betwixt things profitable and honest, so as to call some natural actions which are not only useful but necessary, dishonest and obscene.

But let us proceed in our instances of treachery. Two pretenders to the kingdom of Thrace fell into a dispute about their title. The emperor hinder'd them from taking arms; but one of them under colour of bringing matters to an amicable issue by an interview, having invited his competitor to an entertainment at his house, caused him to be secured, and put to death §. Justice required that the Romans should have satisfaction for this offence, but there was a difficulty in obtaining it by the common forms. What therefore they could not do lawfully, with-

out

* Cicero de offic. lib. iii. c. 17.

† He was an Indian sage who lived in the time of Alexander. What Montaigne here says of him is reported by Plutarch, who calls him Dandamis, in the life of Alexander, ch. 20. 'Tis the same in Strabo, lib. 15. where this Indian philosopher is call'd Mandanis. I have taken all this from M. de la Monnoye.

‡ Senec. ep. 95.

§ Tacit. annal. lib. ii. c. 65.

out a war, and without danger, they attempted by treachery, and what they cou'd not do honestly they accomplish'd profitably. For this end one Pomponius Flaccus was pitch'd upon as a fit instrument *. This man, by dissembled words and assurances, having drawn the other into his toil, instead of the honour and favour which he had promised him, sent him bound hand and foot to Rome. Here one traytor betray'd another, contrary to the common custom; for they are full of mistrust, and 'tis not easy to over-reach them in their own art; witness the sad experience we have lately had of this.

Let who will be Pomponius Flaccus, and there are enough that would. For my part both my word and my faith are like all the rest, parts of this common body: The best they can do is to serve the public, and this I take to be presupposed: But as, should one command me to take charge of the palace and the records, or to enter upon the office of conductor of pioneers, I would say, That as to the former, 'tis what I don't understand, and as to the latter, that I am called to a more honourable employment: So likewise, should any one want me to lye, betray, and forswear myself, for some notable service, much more to assassinate or poison, I would say, if I have robbed or stolen from any one, send me forthwith to the galleys. For 'tis justifiable for a man of honour to say, as the Lacedæmonians did, when they were just on the point of concluding their agreement after their defeat by Antipater, "You may impose as heavy and ruinous burdens upon us as you please, but if you command us to do things that are shameful and dishonest, you will only lose your time †." Every one, to be sure, had taken the same oath to himself that the kings of Egypt made their judges swear solemnly; viz. That they would not decree any thing contrary to their consciences, tho' they themselves should command it ‡. In such commissions there is an evident mark of ignominy and condemnation: And whoever gives you such a commission does in fact accuse you, and he gives it you, if you understand it right, for a burden and a punishment. As

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 67.

† Plutarch in his difference of the flatterer and the friend, c. 21.

‡ Plutarch in the remarkable sayings of the ancient kings, &c. towards the beginning.

much as the public affairs are amended by what you do, your own are impaired by it ; and the better you behave for the public you act so much the worse for yourself: Nor will it be a new thing, nor perhaps without some colour of justice, if the same person ruin you who set you at work.

If treachery ought to be excusable in any case, it is only so when it is employed in chastising and betraying the traitor. There are examples enough of treachery, not only where it was refused, but punished by those in whose favour it had been undertaken. Who does not know the sentence of Fabricius against Pyrrhus's physician ?

But we find this also recorded, that a man has given command for an action which he afterwards severely revenged on the person whom he employed in it, rejecting a credit and power so uncontrouled, and disavowing a servitude and obedience so sordid and abandoned. Jaropelc duke of Russia tampered with a gentleman of Hungary to betray Boleslaus king of Poland by putting him to death, or giving the Russians an opportunity to do him some notable injury. The gentleman acted very craftily in the affair ; he devoted himself more than ever to the service of the king, obtain'd to be of his council, and one of his chief confidants. With these advantages, and chusing the critical opportunity of his sovereign's absence, he betray'd to the Russians the great and rich city of Wislitz, which was intirely plunder'd and burnt by them, with the total slaughter, not only of its inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, but of a great number of the neighbouring gentry whom he had convened there for his purpose. Jaropelc being glutted with his revenge, and wrath being appeased, for which however he had some pretence (for Boleslaus had very much provoked him, and by a behaviour too of the like kind) and being gorged with the fruit of this treachery, taking into consideration the deformity of the act in a naked abstracted light, and looking upon it with a calm dispassionate view, conceived such a remorse and disgust at it that he caused the eyes of his agent to be pull'd out, and his tongue and privy parts to be cut off.

Antigonus persuaded the soldiers call'd Argyraspides to betray his adversary Eumenes their general into his hands. But when he had put him to death, after they had so delivered him up to him, he himself desired to be the commissioner of the divine justice for the punishment of so detestable a crime, and consigned them over to the governor of the province, with express command by all means to destroy and bring them all to an evil end *. So that of that great number of men not one ever return'd to Macedonia. The better he had been served by them the more wicked he judged the service to be, and the more deserving of punishment.

The slave who betrayed his master P. Sulpicius, by discovering the place where he lay conceal'd, was, according to promise, manumitted from Sylla's proscription; but by virtue of his edict, tho' he was no longer a slave, he was instantly thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock †.

And our king Clovis instead of armour of gold, which he had promised them, caused three of Canacro's servants to be hanged after they had betray'd their master to him, tho' he had set them upon it. They were hanged with the purse of their reward about their necks. After they had satisfied their second and special engagement they satisfy the general and first.

Mahomet the second being resolved to rid himself of his brother out of a jealousy of his power, as is the custom of the Ottoman race, employed one of his officers in the execution, who choak'd him by pouring too much water at once into his throat. When this was done, Mahomet, to make atonement for the murder, deliver'd the man who committed it into the hands of the deceased's mother (for they were only brothers by the father's side) who in his presence ript open the murderer's bosom, and in a fury ran her hands into his breast, and rifled it for his heart, which she tore out, and threw to the dogs. And even to the vilest of people it is a pleasure, when their end has been served by a criminal action, to patch it up with some mixture of goodness and justice, as by way of compensation and check of conscience. To which may be

* Plutarch in his life of Eumenes, c. 9. towards the end.

† Valer. Max. lib. vi. c. 5. in Romanis § 7.

added, that they look upon the instruments of such horrid crimes, as upon persons that reproach them therewith, and aim by their deaths to cancel the memory and testimony of such practices.

Now if peradventure you are rewarded, in order not to frustrate the public necessity of this extreme and desperate remedy, he who bestows the reward cannot for all that, if he be not such a one himself, but look upon you as a cursed and execrable fellow ; and concludes you to be a greater traitor than he does the person whom you betray ; for he feels the malignity of your courage by your own hands, being employ'd without reluctance and without objection. And he employs you like the most abandoned miscreants in the office of hangman, an office as useful as it is dishonourable. Besides the baseness of such commissions, there is moreover a prostitution of conscience. Sejanus's daughter being a virgin, and as such being not to be put to death, according to the form of law at Rome, she was, in order to conform to the law, first ravish'd by the hangman, and then strangled *. Thus not only his hand but his soul is a slave to the public convenience.

When Amurath the first, more severely to punish his subjects for having supported the parricide rebellion of his son, ordered that the nearest of kin to them should lend a hand in their execution ; I think it was very honourable in any of them who chose rather to be unjustly deem'd culpable for another's parricide, than to be obedient to the demand of justice for a parricide of their own. And whereas, at the taking of some little forts, I have seen rascals, who, to save their own lives, have been glad to hang their friends and companions, I have thought them in a worse condition than those that were hang'd. 'Tis said that Witholde, a prince of Lithuania, introduced a practice, that a criminal who was condemn'd to die, should dispatch himself with his own hand ; for he thought it strange that a third person, who was innocent of the crime, should be charged with, and employed in, homicide.

When some urgent circumstance, and some impetuous and unforeseen accident, that very much concerns his government, compels a prince to evade his word and his engagement,

* Tacit. *Annal.* lib. v. c. 9.

engagement, or else throws him out of his ordinary duty, he ought to ascribe this necessity to a scourge of the divine rod. Vice it is not, for he has given up his own reason to a more universal and powerful reason; but certainly it is a misfortune: So that if any one should ask me what remedy? 'None' should I say, 'if he was really 'rack'd betwixt these two extremes, (sed videat ne quærat latebra perjurio *, i. e. but let him take care that he does not seek a pretence to cover his perjury) 'he could not do otherwise;' but if he did it without regret, if it did not grieve him to do it, it is a sign his conscience was fear'd. If there be a person to be found of so tender a conscience, as to think so important a remedy too good for any cure whatsoever, I shall not like him at all the worse for it. He could not destroy himself more excusably and decently. We cannot do all we would, so that we are often obliged to commit the protection of our vessels to the conduct of heaven as to a sheet-anchor. To what more just necessity does he reserve himself? What is less possible for him to do than what he cannot do, but at the expence of his faith and his honour? Things which perhaps ought to be dearer to him than his own safety, and the safety of his people. Tho' he should with folded arms call only upon God for his assistance, will he not have reason to hope, that the divine goodness will not refuse the favour of his extraordinary arm to a hand that is so pure and just? These are dangerous instances, rare and weak exceptions to our natural rules, to which there is a necessity of submitting, but with great moderation and circumspection. No private utility is of such importance as to deserve this effort of our conscience, tho' the public good well deserves it, when it is very apparent and very important.

Timoleon made a proper atonement for his unnatural action, by the tears he shed, when he recollected that he had kill'd the tyrant with the hand of a brother: And it stung his conscience that he had been necessitated to purchase the public utility, at so great a price as the wounding of his own integrity. Even the senate, which was by his means delivered from slavery, durst not determine positively on an action so considerable, which car-

* *Cicer. Offic. lib. iii. c. 29.*

ry'd two aspects so important, and so contrary to each other. But the Syracusans, having opportunely at that very time, sent to the Corinthians to solicit their protection, and to require of them a general fit to re-establish their city in its former dignity, and to clear Sicily of several petty tyrants, by whom it was oppress'd, the senate deputed Timoleon for that service, with this artful declaration, ' That if he behav'd well in the government of the Syracusans, they would from that time pronounce by their decree that he kill'd a tyrant, and on the contrary if he discovered an avaricious conduct, they would try and condemn him for fratricide, as having kill'd his own brother *.' This whimsical conclusion carries along with it some excuse, by reason of the danger of the example, and the importance of so double-faced an action. And they did well to discharge their own judgment of it, or to support it elsewhere by considerations that had an imperfect meaning. Now Timoleon's deportment in this voyage rendered his cause still more clear; so worthily and virtuously did he demean himself in all respects. And the good fortune which attended him in the difficulties he had to overcome in this noble task, seem'd to be put in his way by the Gods, as favourably combining for his justification. If any man's aim is excusable, this man's is.

But the profit by the increase of the public revenue, which served the Roman senate for a pretence to the base conclusion I am going to relate, is not sufficient to warrant such injustice. Certain citizens had, by the order and consent of the senate, redeemed themselves and their liberty by money, out of the hands of L. Sylla †. The affair coming again upon the carpet, the senate condemned them to be taxable as they were before, and that the money they had disbursed for their redemption should never be repaid them. Civil wars often produce such vile examples, that we punish private men for having taken our words when we were in power: And one and the same magistrate makes another man pay the penalty of his change, tho' no fault of his. The schoolmaster lashes his scholar for his docility, and the guide beats the blind man

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xvi. c. 19. of Amyot's Transf.

† Cic. de Offic. lib. iii. c. 22.

man whom he leads by the hand. A shocking picture of justice!

There are some rules in philosophy that are both false and pusillanimous. The example that is proposed to us for preferring private benefit before the obligation due to faith once given, has not weight enough from the circumstance which they mix with it. Robbers have surprized you, and, after having made you swear to pay them a sum of money, give you your liberty. 'Tis wrong to say that an honest man may be quit of his oath without payment, after he is out of their clutches. The case is quite otherwise. What fear has once prevailed on me to intend, I am obliged to keep the same purpose when I am no longer in fear. And tho' fear only forced my tongue, and not my will, yet I am bound to stand to my word. For my own part, when my tongue has sometimes rashly out-run my thought, I have however made a conscience of disowning it, or else by degrees we shall abolish all the right another claims to our promises. 'Quasi vero forti viro vis possit adhiberi *,' i. e. As if violence could possibly operate upon a great heart.

The only condition when private interest can excuse us from the non-performance of a promise is, when we have promised a thing that is wicked, and in itself unjust. For the claim of virtue ought to supersede the force of any obligation of ours.

I have formerly placed Epaminondas in the first class of excellent men, and do not retract it. To what a pitch did he carry his regard for his private obligation, who never killed a man that he had overcome, who for the inestimable benefit of restoring the liberty of his country, made conscience of killing a tyrant or his accomplices, without the forms of justice; and who judged him to be a wicked man, was he ever so good a subject, who amongst his enemies, and in battle, spared not his friend and his host? His was a soul of a rich composition! He matched good nature and humanity, even the most delicate in the school of philosophy, with the rudest and most violent of all human actions. Was it nature or art that softened a man of his great courage, high spirit, and obstinate constancy, against pain, death, and poverty,

* Cicer. de Offic. lib. iii. c. 30.

poverty, to such an extreme degree of good nature and complaisance? dreadful, with fire and sword, he over-ran and subdued a nation invincible by all others, but himself; and yet, in the midst of such an expedition, he relaxed when he met his host and his friend. Verily he was fit to command in war, who could suffer himself to be checked with the curb of good nature, in the greatest heat of action, so inflamed and foaming with rage and slaughter. It is miraculous to mix any idea of justice with such actions; but it was only possible for such steadiness of mind, as was that of Epaminondas, therein to mix good nature and the facility of the gentlest manners and purest innocence: And whereas * one told the Mamertines that statutes were of no force against men in arms; another † told the tribune of the people, that there was a time for justice, and a time for war; a third, ‡ that the noise of arms drowned the voice of the laws. This man's ears were always open to hear the calls of civility and courtesy. Did he not borrow from his enemies § the custom of sacrificing to the muses, when he went to the field of battle, that they might, by their sweetness and gaiety of temper, soften his severity and martial fury? After the example of so great a master, let us not make any sort of doubt that there is something unlawful, even against an enemy; that the common cause ought not to require all things of a man against private interest: 'Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum foederum privati juris,' i. e. the remembrance of private right subsisting even in the midst of public quarrels.

et nulla potentia vires

Præstandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet ||.

Nor is there any pow'r can authorize

The breach of sacred friendship's solemn ties.

and that an honest man is not allowed to do every thing for the service of his king, or of the common cause, or of the laws. 'Non enim Patria præstat omnibus officiis' — et ipsi conducit pios habere cives in parentes ¶, i. e.

For

* Pompey; see Plutarch's life of him, c. 3.

† Caesar in

Plutarch, c. 11.

‡ Marius in his life by Plutarch, c. 10.

§ Lacedæmonians.

|| Ovid, de Ponto, lib. i. epist. 7. 37.

¶ Cic. de Offic. lib. iii. c. 23.

For the obligation to one's country does not supersede every other obligation; and it is of importance to itself to have subjects that have a veneration for their parents. This is an instruction proper for the present time. We need not harden our courage with this steel-armour: It is enough that our shoulders are inured to it; it is enough for us to dip our pens in ink, and not in blood. If it be magnanimity, and the effect of an uncommon and singular valour, to condemn friendship, private obligation, a promise, and kindred, for the public weal, and, in obedience to the magistrate; it is really sufficient to excuse us from it, that this is a greatness of soul which could have no place in the magnanimity of Epaminondas.

I abhor the furious exhortations of this other ungodly soul *.

*Dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
Ulla, nec adversâ conspecti fronte parentes
Commoveant, vultus gladio turbate verendos.*

When swords are drawn, let no remains of love
To friend, or kindred, your compassion move;
Fear not to wound the venerable face,
Ev'n of your father, if oppos'd in place.

Let us deprive those that are naturally mischievous, bloody and treacherous, of this colour of reason; let us set aside this wild extravagant justice, and stick to institutions that are more humane. How great things may not be accomplish'd by time and example! In an action of the civil war against Cinna, one of Pompey's soldiers having inadvertently kill'd his brother, who was of the contrary party, kill'd himself on the spot, as soon as he † knew it, for mere shame and sorrow: And some years afterwards, in another civil war of the same people, a soldier, who had kill'd his brother, demanded a reward for it from his officers ‡.

The utility of an action is but a sorry plea for the beauty and honour of it; and 'tis wrong to infer, that because such a thing is useful, 'tis therefore incumbent
on

* Julius Cæsar, who, when in an open war against his country, with a design to subvert its liberty, cries out, 'Dum tela micant,' &c. Lucan. lib. vii. v. 320, &c. † Tacit. hist. lib. iii. c. 51.

‡ Tacit. hist. lib. iii. c. 51.

on every one to perform it ; and not only a duty, but for his honour.

Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta *.

All things are not alike for all men fit.

Were we to choose the most necessary, and the most useful action of human society, it would be marriage ; yet the saints think celibacy the more honourable state, excluding the most venerable order of men from it, as we set apart those cattle for stallions, which are the least in our estimation.

CHAP. II. *Of Repentance.*

OTHERS form man, I only declare what he is ; and I represent a particular one, very indifferently form'd, and whom, were I to model again, I should certainly make him very different from what he is ; but what is done can not be recall'd. Now, tho' the features of my picture alter and vary, there is still a likeness. The universe is but one perpetual motion, in which all things are incessantly wheel'd about ; the earth, the rocks of Caucasus, and the pyramids of Egypt, both by the general motion, and a particular one of their own. Constancy itself is no other than a more languid motion. I cannot be sure of my object : 'Tis always disturb'd and staggering by a natural giddiness. I take it in this point as it is at the instant when I consider it. I do not paint its being, I paint its passage ; not a passage from one century to another, or, as the people say, from seven years to another seven ; but from day to day, from minute to minute. I must accommodate my history to the time. I may soon change not only my fortune, but also my intention. 'Tis a true copy of various and changeable accidents, and of imaginations that are wavering, and sometimes contrary. Whether it be that I am not then the man I was, or that I lay hold on the subjects with other circumstances and considerations, so it is that perhaps I may plainly contradict myself ; but, as Demades said, I do not contradict the truth. Could my soul once take sure footing, I should not make an attempt, but would speak definitively

* Propert. l. 3. eleg. 9. v. 7.

definitively and peremptorily ; but it is always learning and making trial.

I propose a life mean, and without lustre. It is all one ; all moral philosophy is as applicable to a vulgar and private life as to the most splendid. Every man carries the intire form of the human condition. Authors communicate themselves to the people by some special and extraordinary work. I, in the first place, by my universal being as Michael de Montaigne, not as a grammarian, a poet, or a lawyer. If men complain that I speak too much of myself, I complain that they do not so much as think of themselves. But is it reasonable, that being so particular in my way of living, I should pretend to make myself known to the public ? And is it also reasonable that I should introduce into the world, where workmanship and art have so much credit and authority, the crude and plain effects of nature, and of frail nature too ? Is not writing books without learning, like building a wall without stone or brick ? The fancies of music are carry'd on by art, mine by chance. I have this at least, according to discipline, that never any man treated of a subject, whereof he was more the master, than I am of that which I have undertaken ; and that in this I am the most knowing man alive. Secondly, that never did any man penetrate deeper into his subject, nor more distinctly scrutinize into its parts and consequences, nor ever more exactly and more plainly arrive at the end which he proposed to himself in his work. To finish it, I need only apply to it with the fidelity which I have therein displayed with the utmost sincerity and purity. I speak the truth, not as much as I would, but as much as I dare ; and I dare a little more as I grow older ; for, methinks, custom indulges my age with more liberty of prating, as well as of indiscretion in talking of a man's self. That cannot fall out here, which I often observe elsewhere, that the work and the artificer contradict each other. Has a man of so elegant a conversation writ so silly a treatise ? or are such learned writings the product of a man of so mean conversation, whose discourse is common, and who but seldom writes ; that is to say, whose capacity is borrowed, and not his own ? A man of learning is not learned in every thing ; but the self-sufficient
man

man is sufficient in every thing, even in ignorance. Here my book I and go hand-in-hand in one even pace. In other cases a work may be recommended and censured abstractedly from the workman, but not in this. He that touches the one, touches the other. He that shall judge of it without knowing him, will injure himself more than me. He who does know him, gives me all the satisfaction I desire. I shall be more happy than I deserve, if I can only obtain thus much from the public approbation, as to make men of understanding sensible that I was capable of making learning turn to my benefit if I had it, and that I deserved to have been assisted by a better memory. Be pleased here to excuse what I often say, that I seldom repent of any thing, and that my conscience is satisfied with itself, not like the conscience of an angel or a horse, but that of a man, always adding this check, not a check of ceremony, but, of true and genuine submission, that I speak by way inquiry, and for better information, referring myself for determination purely and simply to the common and authorized opinions. I do not teach, I only relate.

There is no vice, that is really such, which does not offend, and which a sound judgment does not blame; for there is so manifest a deformity and inconvenience in it, that peradventure they are in the right who say, that it is chiefly produced from ignorance and stupidity; so hard is it to imagine that a man can know it without abhorring it. Malice * sucks in the greatest part of its own venom, and itself is therewith poisoned. Vice leaves a repentance in the mind, which, like an ulcer in the flesh, is always scratched till it bleeds; for reason effaces all other sorrows and griefs, but it begets this of repentance, which is the more grievous because it springs from within, as the internal cold and heat of agues and fevers is more intense and severe than what we feel from without. I not only hold those for vices (tho' not equally such) which both reason and nature condemn, but those also which have been made such in the opinion of men, however false and erroneous, if it is authorized by the laws and custom.

Nor

* This thought is taken from Seneca's ep. 81, where he mentions it as a common saying of his countryman Attalus.

Nor is there any virtue the practice of which does not give joy to a well-disposed mind. There is really an inconceivable joy in a man's own breast upon his doing good, and a generous boldness that accompanies a good conscience. A soul that is daringly vicious may perhaps arm itself with security, but cannot supply itself with this complacency and satisfaction. It is no slight pleasure to a man to be preserved from the contagion of so corrupt an age, and to say to himself, whoever shall look into my soul will not find me guilty of any man's ruin or affliction, nor of revenge or envy, nor of the publick violation of the laws, nor of innovation, nor disturbance, nor of the breach of a promise: And tho' the licentiousness of the age has not only tolerated, but taught it to every man; yet I have not seized the estate or purse of any French man whatsoever, but have lived only upon what is my own, both in war and in peace; nor have I set any man to work without paying him his hire. These are pleasing testimonies of a good conscience; and this natural gladness is a great benefit to us, and the only reward that never fails us.

To found the recompence of virtuous actions on the approbation of others is laying it on a foundation too uncertain and embarrassed, especially in so corrupt and ignorant an age as the present, wherein the good opinion of the vulgar is a scandal. Upon whom do you rely for the discovery of what is commendable? God forbid that I should be an honest man according to the honourable definition which I daily see every one gives of it, 'Quæ fuerunt vitia, mores sunt *,' i. e. The things that were formerly reckoned vices are the manners of the present age. Certain friends of mine have at times schooled and reprimanded me very frankly of their own accord, or, at my instigation, thereby performing an office which, to a mind that is rightly formed, surpasses all the offices of friendship, not only in utility but in kindness. I have always received them with the most open arms of courtesy and gratitude. But to speak conscientiously, I have often discovered, both in their reproaches and their praises, so much false measure, that I had not done much amiss, rather to have acted wrong

* Senec. ep. 39. at the end.

than right, according to their standard. We, especially who lead a private life, not exposed to any other view than our own, ought to have a tribunal established in our breasts, whereby to try our actions; and, according to that, sometimes to caress, and at other times to correct ourselves. I have my laws and my court of justice to judge myself by, and apply myself to those more than to any other rules. I do indeed restrain my actions by those of other men, but do not extend them by any other rule except my own. It is only known to yourself whether you are cowardly and cruel, or loyal and devout. Others see you not, and only form uncertain conjectures of you. They do not perceive your nature so plainly as your art; rely not therefore upon their verdict, but stick to your own: 'Tuo tibi judicio est utendum——Virtutis et Vitiorum grave ipsius conscientiae pondus est; quâ sublata jacent omnia *, i. e. Make use of your own judgment——Conscience plainly shews the weight of virtues and vices; take away that, all falls to the ground. But the saying, that repentance follows close at the heels of sin, seems not to have regard to sin in its richest attire, which is lodged in us as in its own proper habitation. It is possible to disavow and retract the vices that surprize us, and towards which our passions hurry us; but those which by a long habit are rooted and anchored in a strong and a vigorous will, are not liable to be gainsay'd. Repentance is no other than a recanting of our will, and an opposition to our fancies, that follows us close which way soever we take. It makes another person disown his former virtue and continency.

† *Quæ mens est hodie cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ ‡.*

Ah! whilst I was a vigorous boy

Why did I not this mind enjoy?

Or why does not my rosy hue

Return to paint my cheeks anew?

That is an exquisite life wherein a due regularity is maintained within doors. Every one may play a part in the

* Cic. de natura Deorum, lib. iii. c. 35. † Horace here characterises Ligurinus, who repented when he came to be an old man that he had not made an ill use of his beauty while he had it.

‡ Hor. lib. iv. ode 10. v. 7, 8.

the puppet-shew, and represent an honest man upon the stage ; but within his own breast, where he may do what he list, and where nobody sees us ; for a man to be regular there, that's the point. The next degree is for a man to be so at his own house in his ordinary actions, for which we are accountable to nobody, and wherein there is no study, no artifice ; and therefore Bias, representing the excellent state of a family, says, the master of it was the same within doors, when by himself, as he was abroad, and by the laws, and by the report of men *. And it was a worthy saying of † Julius Drusus to the builders, when they offered for 3000 crowns to raise his house so high that his neighbours should not overlook him so much as before — I will give you, says he ‡, 6000 to make it so that it may be looked into on all sides. It is mentioned to the honour of Agesilaus, that when he travelled, he used to take up his quarters in the churches, to the end that the people, and the Gods themselves, might be spectators of his private actions. Such a one has been the miracle of the world, in whom neither his wife nor servant have never seen any one thing remarkable §. Few men have been admired by their domestics. We find in history, that a prophet hath no honour, not only in his own family, but in his own country. It is the same in things nought: And in this mean example the image of greater is to be seen. In my country of Gascoigne they look upon it as drolle-ry to see me in print. The farther off I am read from my own home the better I am esteemed. I am fain to purchase printers in Guienne, elsewhere they purchase

X 2

me.

* Plutarch in the banquet of the wise men, c. 23. † Or rather Marcus Livius Drusus, the famous tribune of the people, who died Anno 662 at Rome, after having, by his ambition, fomented a dangerous war in Italy, of which Florus treats, lib. iii. c. 17. and 18. As to what Montaigne says here of Livius Drusus, he took it from a treatise of Plutarch, intituled, Instructions to those who manage the affairs of state, c. 4. where this Drusus is called Julius Drusus, a tribune of the people. If Montaigne had consulted Paterculus on this article, he might have perceived this small mistake of Plutarch. ‡ 'Tis Plutarch that makes him speak thus ; but, according to Paterculus, Drusus being about to build a house, and having an offer made him by the architect to contrive it after such a model, that none of his neighbours might look into it: Drusus said, If you know how, make me such a house rather, that what I do in it may be seen by every body. § A man must be a hero indeed, said marshal Catinat, if his footman thinks it.

me. Upon this foundation they go, who conceal themselves living and present, to obtain a name when they are absent and dead. I had rather have less of it; and do not publish myself to the world for more than my share of it; when I leave it, I quit all farther claim. The people re-conduct such a one by a public act with amazement to his very door. He puts off this pageantry with his robe, and falls so much the lower from it, by how much the higher he was exalted. In his house there is nothing but tumult and disorder; and was there a regularity in it, it will require a quick and well tried judgment to perceive it in these low and private actions: To which may be added, that order is a dull melancholy virtue. To enter a breach, to conduct an embassy, to govern a people, are actions of renown; to reprove, laugh, sell, pay, love, hate, and converse pleasantly and rationally with a man's own family, and with himself, not to relax nor to recant, are things more rare, more difficult, and less remarkable. By this means, they who lead a retired life do, whatever is said to the contrary, undergo offices, of a greater difficulty and extent than others do. And private men, says Aristotle, serve virtue with more difficulty and eminence, than they do who are in the magistracy. We prepare ourselves for eminent occasions, more out of vanity than conscience. The shortest way to arrive at glory would be to do that for conscience which we do for glory. And the virtue of Alexander appears to me with far less vigour in his theatre, than does that of Socrates in his mean and obscure employment. I can easily conceive Socrates in the place of Alexander, but Alexander in that of Socrates I cannot. Ask the one what he can do, he will answer, 'Conquer the world;' ask the other the same question, he will say, 'Conduct human life conformably to its natural condition;' a science much more general, weighty and more lawful.

The soul is to be valued not for its high flight, but for its regularity. Its greatness is not exercised in grandeur but in a mediocrity. As they who judge and try us internally, make no great account of the lustre of our public actions, and see that they are only threads and rays of clear water, springing from a slimy and muddy bottom;

So likewise they who judge of us by this fine outward appearance, make the same conclusion from our internal constitution, and cannot couple faculties that are common and like their own, with those other faculties that astonish them, and are so far out of their sight. Therefore it is that we give savage forms to Dæmons; and who does not give Tamerlane large eye-brows, wide nostrils, a dreadful face, and a stature beyond measure, according to the conception he has formed from the report of his name? Had any one heretofore shewed me Erasmus, I should hardly have believed but that every thing he spoke to his man or his landlady was adage and apophthegm. We have a more suitable idea of an artificer upon his close-stool, or upon his wife, than of a great president venerable for his carriage and abilities. We fancy that they do not stoop so low from their high tribunals as to live. As vicious souls are often incited to do well by some strange impulse, so are virtuous souls to do ill. They are therefore to be judged by their settled state, when they are composed, if they ever are so; or at least when they are nearer to repose, and in their native situation.

Natural inclinations are assisted and fortified by education, but are scarce ever altered or subdued by it. A thousand souls in my time have shifted towards virtue or vice in spite of a contrary discipline.

*Sic ubi desuetæ sylvis in carcere clausæ
Mansuere feræ, et vultus posuere minaces,
Atq; hominem didicere pati, si torrida parvus
Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque,
Admonitæque tument gustato sanguine fauces,
Fervet, et a trepido vix abstinet ira magistro *.*

So beasts of prey imprison'd in a cage,
Grow tame, abandoning their native rage
And threat'ning looks, and do themselves inure
The government of mankind to indure.
But if again a little blood they taste,
Their savage fury then returns fast;
They thirst for more, grow fierce, and wildly stare,
As if their trembling keepers they would tear.

Thus do men palliate and conceal their original qualities, but do not extirpate them. The Latin tongue is as it

* Lucan. lib. iv. v. 237.

were natural to me; I understand it better than the French, but I have not used to speak it, nor hardly to write it these forty years; and yet, upon some sudden agitations, which I have fallen into twice or thrice in my life (and once upon seeing my father, in perfect health, fall upon me in a fainting fit.) I always vented my first outcries in Latin; nature starting and forcibly expressing itself, notwithstanding so long a discontinuance; and of this there are many other instances.

They who in my time have taken a review of the manners of the age do, by novel opinions, reform seeming vices; but as for real vices they leave them as they were if they do not augment them; the latter of which, it is to be feared, is the case. We choose to disregard all other good actions, on account of these external reformations of less cost and greater merit, and thereby make a cheap atonement for the other natural consubstantial and internal vices. Look back a little on our own experience. There is no man, if he listen to himself, who does not find in himself a particular and governing method of his own, which struggles with instruction, and with the tempest of passions that are contrary to it. For my part, I seldom feel myself agitated by any shock. I find myself, as it were, always in my place like unweildy bodies. If I am not at home I am always near it. My debauches do not carry me very far off. There is nothing strange nor extreme in the case, and yet I have healthy and vigorous raptures. The true condemnation, and that which affects mens common practice, is that their state of retirement is full of filth and corruption, the idea of their reformation blurred, their repentance weak, and as much to blame almost as their sin. Some either for having been linked to vice, by a natural propension, or by a long habit in it, cannot see any deformity in it. Others (of which class I am) do indeed weigh vice, but they put pleasure, or some other occasion, in the other ballance, and suffer and yield to it for a certain price, but viciously and basely; yet there might perhaps be imagined so vast a disproportion of measure, wherein with justice, the pleasure would excuse the sin, as we say of profit, not only if it were accidental, and out of sin, as larceny; but in the very exercise of sin, as in the enjoyment

joyment of a woman, wherein the temptation is violent, and it is said sometimes to be invincible. Being the other day in Armagnac, at a feat which belongs to a kinsman of mine, I saw a country fellow, that was by every one called the Robber, who gave this narrative of his life; That being born a beggar, and finding that he should never be able to get enough by his labour to support himself against want, he resolved to turn robber; and, being a strong man, had followed this trade all the time of his youth with safety; for he gathered in his corn and wine from other mens lands, but at a great distance, and in such great loads, that it was not to be imagined how one man could carry off so much upon his shoulders in one night as he did; and moreover, he was so careful not to do one man more damage than another, that every particular man's loss therefore was of the less importance. He is now grown old and rich for a man of his rank, thanks to the trade he drove, which he makes no scruple to confess to every body; and to make his peace with God for his ill-got wealth, he says that he is daily ready, by his bounty, to make satisfaction to the successors of those he robb'd; and if he does not to every one (which it is impossible for him to do at once) he will then leave it in charge to his heirs to perform the rest proportionably to the wrong he has done to every one, which is what he himself only knows. By this account, whether true or false, this man looks upon robbery as a dishonest action, and he hates it, but not so much as poverty. He does barely repent of it, but forasmuch as it was in this manner counterballanced and compensated, he repents not of it. This is not that habit which incorporates us with vice, and conforms our very understanding to it; nor is it that impetuous wind which, by its gusts, disturbs and blinds our faculties, and for the time hurries us, judgment and all, into the power of vice.

'Tis my way to do what I do thoroughly, and all of a-piece. I scarce make a motion clandestinely and by stealth from my reason, and that is not conducted in a manner by the consent of all my faculties without division, without any inward struggles. My judgment has all the blame or all the praise of it; and the blame it once has, it has always; for I have had, almost from my infancy,

fancy, the same inclination, the same turn, and the same spirit: And as to universal opinions, I fix'd myself from my childhood in the same place where I was to stick. There are some sins that are impetuous, prompt, and sudden; let us set them aside; but as for those other sins so oft repeated, deliberated, and contrived, whether constitutional sins, or sins of profession and vocation, I cannot conceive that they have so long been settled in the same resolution, without the constant concurrence of the will and understanding, with the reason and conscience of the person who is guilty of them: And the repentance which he boasts to be inspired with on a sudden is very hard for me to imagine. I am not of the opinion of the Pythagorean sect, that men assume a new soul when they approach the images of the Gods to receive their oracles, unless they mean that it must be foreign, new, and lent for the time, our own shewing so little a sign of the purification and cleanness fit for that office.

They act quite contrary to the Stoical precepts, who indeed command us to correct the imperfections and vices which we know ourselves guilty of, but forbid us thereby to disturb the tranquillity of our minds. These make us believe that they have great vexation and remorse within, but as for amendment and correction, or discontinuance, they give no sign of it; yet it cannot be a cure till the evil be purged away. If repentance were to be put into one scale of the ballance it would out-weigh sin. I don't know of any quality so easy to counterfeit as devotion, if the life and manners do not conform to it. The essence of it is abstruse and occult, the appearances easy and pompous.

As for my part, I may desire in the general to be what I am not; I may condemn and be out of humour with my whole frame, and pray to God for an intire reformation, and to excuse my natural infirmity; but this is what I ought not to call repentance, methinks, no more than a disgust that I am not an angel, nor a Cato. My actions are regulated by, and conformable to what I am, and to my condition. I cannot do better; and repentance does not properly concern things that are not in our power. 'Tis rather regret. I conceive an infinite number of natures, more sublime and regular than mine; yet

yet I do not amend my faculties, forasmuch as neither my arm nor my mind will become a whit the more vigorous by conceiving another's to be so. If to imagine and wish a more noble way of acting than we have should produce a repentance in us, we should then repent of our most innocent operations, forasmuch as we well suppose that in a more excellent nature they would be conducted with greater perfection and dignity; and we should wish to do the same. When I consider my demeanor in my youth, and that of my old age, I find that I have in the general behaved with regularity as far as I know. This is all that my resistance can avail. I do not flatter myself; in the like circumstances I should be always the same. 'Tis not a spot, but rather an universal tincture, with which I am stained. I have no notion of a repentance that is superficial, moderate or ceremonious. It must sting me throughout, before I can give it that name, and it must pierce my heart as deeply and universally as God sees into me.

In matters of trade many good opportunities have escaped me for want of successful management, and yet I made a right choice according as occurrences presented themselves. 'Tis my method to chuse always the easiest and the surest course. I find that in my past deliberations I have, according to my own rule, proceeded with discretion according to the state of the subject proposed to me, and should do the same, were it a thousand years hence, on the like occasions. I do not consider the thing as it is now, but what it was when I deliberated on it. The force of all counsel lies in the time. Opportunities and affairs incessantly fluctuate and change. I have, in my life, fallen into some gross and important errors, not for want of good judgment, but for want of good luck. There are, in the affairs that we have to do with, some secret circumstances not to be guessed at, particularly in the human natures certain silent conditions that make no shew, and are unknown sometimes even to the possessor, which start and spring up from incidental causes. If my prudence could not penetrate into, or foretell them, I am not disgusted with it: 'Tis confined to its own limits. If the event be against me, and favours that side which I have refused, there is no remedy;

dy ; I do not blame myself for it : I accuse my luck, and not my performance. This is not what we call repentance.

Phocion had given certain advice to the Athenians, which was not followed ; and the affair succeeding happily contrary to his opinion, somebody said, Well, Phocion, art thou pleased that this affair turns out so well ? I am very glad, said he, that it has so happened ; yet I do not repent that I advised otherwise *. When my friends apply to me for my opinion, I give it freely and plainly without considering, as almost all mankind do, that the thing being hazardous it may fall out contrary to my opinion, and then perhaps they may reproach me for my advice ; but this is what I am very indifferent about ; for they will be to blame for desiring that office, which I could not justify myself to refuse them.

I scarce ever lay any mistakes or misfortunes of mine to the charge of another person : For the truth is, I seldom make use of another's advice, but only for the sake of civility and ceremony, unless it be where I have need of instruction in any science, or information of any fact. For in things where I have only my judgment to make use of, other mens reasons may be of some credit to support me, but of little force to dissuade me. I hear every thing favourably and decently ; but I do not remember that to this hour I ever made use of any reason but my own. With me they are but flies or atoms that hover about my will. I lay no great stress upon my own opinions, and as little upon those of other men. Fortune rewards me justly. As I do not receive advice, I give as little. I am seldom asked for it, and more seldom trusted to ; and know not of any undertaking, either public or private, that has been the better for my advice : Even the persons, whom fortune had in any manner engaged to follow my direction, have chosen more willingly to be guided by any other head-piece than mine : And as I am a man altogether as vigilant against the disturbance of my tranquillity as the diminution of my authority, I like it the better. By thus neglecting me they humour me in what I profess, which is to settle and wholly contain myself

* Plutarch in his notable sayings of ancient kings, princes, &c. under the article Phocion.

myself within myself. 'Tis a pleasure to me to be disinterested in other mens affairs, and not to be any way responsible for them.

All affairs when they are over, happen as they will, give me little concern; for the imagination, that so it ought to be, puts me out of my pain. They are rolled about in the great revolution of the universe, and linked in the chain of Stoical causes. Your fancy cannot, by wish or imagination, move an jota, either past or to come, which the order of things will not totally overturn.

As to the rest, I hate that accidental repentance which old age brings with it. He of old times * who said he was obliged to his years for stripping him of pleasure, was of a different opinion from me. I can never think myself beholden to impotency for any good that it does me. 'Nec tam averfa unquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, ut debilitas inter optima inventa fit.' Nor can providence ever be thought so averse to its own work, that debility should be found among the best things. Our appetites are rare in old age. A profound satiety comes upon us after the act. I discern nothing of conscience in this. 'Tis chagrin and weakness that imprint on us a languid phlegmatic quality. We must not suffer ourselves to be wholly carryed away by the alterations of nature so as to debase our judgment. Youth and pleasure did not heretofore so far blind me, that I did not discern the face of vice in pleasure; nor does that disgust which years have now brought upon me, hinder me from discerning the face of pleasure in vice. Now that my days of pleasure are over, I judge of it as if they were not. I, who strictly and attentively ransack my reason, find it the very same it was in my most licentious age, if it be not perhaps a little weakened and impaired by being grown old; and I am of opinion, that as it does not permit me to embark in pleasure, for the sake of my bodily health, it would not give me more allowance now than

* This was Sophocles, who being asked if he still enjoyed the pleasures of love, made answer, 'Dii meliora: libenter vero isinc, tanquam a Domino agresti ac furioso profugi,' i. e. The Gods have done better for me: and glad I am that I have lived to escape from the wild and furious tyranny of love. Cic. de Senectute, c. 41.

than heretofore for the sake of my soul's health. I do not reckon my reason the more vigorous because it has nothing to combat. My temptations are so shattered and mortified that they are not worth its opposition, for with only stretching out my hands I overcome them. Should my former concupiscence be replaced in its view, I fear it would not have so much strength to resist it as it had heretofore. I do not find that it has any other notion of pleasure now than it had then, nor that it has required any new light; wherefore if there be a recovery it is a scurvy one. Miserable kind of remedy where health is not to be obtained without a malady. It is not for our misfortune to perform this office, but for the good fortune of our judgment. I am not influenced by injuries and afflictions to do any thing but to curse them. This is for people who are not to be roused till they feel the scourge. My reason indeed acts with more freedom in prosperity, but is more distracted and harder put to it, to digest misfortunes than pleasures. I see best in a clear sky; health pre-admonishes me with more alacrity and more benefit than sickness. I did all that I could to repair and regulate myself when I had health to enjoy them. I should be ashamed and vexed that the misery and misfortune of my old age should be preferred before my good, healthful, sprightly, and vigorous years; and that men should judge of me, not by what I have been, but by what I am now that I have as it were ceased to be.

In my opinion it is in happy living, and not in dying happily, as Antisthenes said, that human felicity consists. I have not aimed to make a monstrous addition of a philosopher's tail to the head and body of a libertine, nor that this wretched remainder of life should contradict and give the lye to the pleasanter, soundest, and longest part of it. I would fain represent myself uniform throughout. Were I to lead my life over again, I should live just as I have done. I neither complain of the past, nor do I fear the future; and, if I do not deceive myself, I have been much the same within as without. I am principally obliged to my fortune, that the course of my bodily estate has been carried on in every thing in its season. I have seen it in its bud, blossoms, and fruit, and now see it withered; happily however because naturally.

I bear

I bear the ailments I have the better forasmuch as they are at their crisis, and also because they give me the more pleasing remembrance of the long felicity of my past life: Also my wisdom may, peradventure, have been of the same pitch in both ages, but it was more active, and graceful, when young, sprightly and natural, than now that it is broken, peevish, and painful. I therefore recounce those casual and dolorous reformatiōns. God must touch our hearts, and our consciences must amend of themselves by the aid of our reason, and not by the decay of our appetites.

Pleasure is in itself neither pale nor discoloured for being discerned by eyes that are dim and distempered. We ought to love temperance for its own sake, and in respect to God, who has commanded both that and chastity. What we derive from catarrhs, and what I am obliged for to my cholic, is neither chastity nor temperance. A man cannot boast that he despises and resists pleasure, if he does not see it, and if he does not know it, together with its charms, power, and most alluring beauty. I know both the one and the other, I have a right to say it: But it seems to me that in old age our minds are subject to more troublesome maladies and imperfections than they are in youth. I said the same when I was young, and when I was reproached with the want of a beard; and I say the same now that my grey hairs gain me authority. We call the crabbedness of our tempers, and the disrelish of present things, wisdom; but in truth we do not so much forsake vices as change them, and in my opinion for worse. Besides a foolish groundless pride, nauseous babble, froward and unfociable humours, superstition, and a ridiculous thirst after riches, when the use of them is lost, I find in old age more envy, injustice, and malignity. It furrows the mind with more wrinkles than the face; and we never, or very rarely, see people who, in growing old, do not grow sour and musty. The whole man moves, both towards his perfection and his decay. In considering the wisdom of Socrates, and many circumstances of his * condemnation,

VOL. III.

Y

I dare

* If this be a conjecture only founded on Montaigne's sagacity, it does him very great honour, for Xenophon tells us expressly, that
in

I dare believe that he indulged himself by prevarication, in some measure, for the purpose, seeing that at 70 years of age he suffered such a rich genius as his was to be almost totally cramped, and his wonted brightness offuscated. What metamorphoses do I every day see made by age in several of my acquaintance! It is a powerful malady, which creeps upon us naturally, and imperceptibly. Deep study and great precaution are absolutely necessary to avoid the imperfections it loads us with, or at least to slacken their progress. I find that, notwithstanding all my intrenchments, it steals upon me one foot after another; I bear up against it as well as I can, but I know not what it will bring me to at last; but, happen what will, I am content to have it known what I was before I fell.

C H A P. III. *Of three Commerces, i. e. Familiarities with Men, Women, and Books.*

WE must not rivet ourselves so fast to our humours and complexions. Our chief sufficiency is to know how to apply ourselves to various customs. For a man to keep himself tied and bound, by necessity, to one only course, is but bare existence, not living. Those are the most amiable tempers, which are more variable and flexible. It was an honourable character of the elder Cato, 'Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceris, quodcunque ageret *,' i. e. He had parts so flexible to every thing, that whatsoever he took in hand, a man would be apt to say he was formed by nature for that very thing only. Were I to chuse for myself, there is no fashion so good that I should care to be so wedded to it, as not to have it in my power to disengage myself from it. Life is a motion uneven, irregular, and multiform. A man is not his own friend, much less his own master, but rather a slave to himself, who is eternally pursuing his own humour, and such a bigot to his inclinations, that he is not able

in truth Socrates defended himself with so much haughtiness before his judges, only from a consideration that at his age death would be better for him than life. This is the subject of the intire preface to that defence made by Socrates before his judges.

* Tit. Liv. lib. xxxix. c. 40.

able to turn aside from them. I speak it now at this time of life, wherein I find it hard to disengage myself from the uneasiness of my mind, by reason that it cannot amuse itself generally, but in things wherein it is embarrassed, nor employ itself because it is so cramped and inflexible. It is apt to magnify a slight subject, and stretches it to such a degree, as to require the application of all its strength to it. Its inactivity is therefore to me a painful labour, and prejudicial to my health. The minds of most men require foreign matter to quicken and exercise them; mine has need of it to compose it rather, and settle it, ‘*Vitia omni negotio discutienda sunt* *;’ i. e. The vices owing to sloth are to be shaken off by business; for my most painful, as well as principal study, is to study myself. Books are one of that sort of employments that divert me from that study. Upon the first thoughts, which come into my mind, it bustles and makes trial of its vigour in every respect; exercises its feeling quality, sometimes towards force, at other times towards order and beauty, and then ranges, moderates, and fortifies itself. It has in itself wherewith to rouse its faculties. Nature has given to it, as to all other mens, matter enough of its own for its benefit, and subjects proper enough both for its invention and judgment.

Meditation, for a man who can inspect and exert himself with vigour, is a powerful and copious study. I had rather frame my mind than furnish it. There is no employment, either more weak or more strong, than that of entertaining a man’s thoughts according to the state of his mind. The greatest men make it their profession, ‘*Quibus vivere est cogitare* †;’ i. e. To whom to live and to think, are one and the same thing. Nature has also favoured man with this privilege, that there is nothing we can hold out in so long, nor any action to which we more commonly, and more readily incline to. It is the business of the Gods, says Aristotle, and that from which proceeds both their bliss and ours.

The principal use of reading to me is that, by the variety of subjects, it keeps my reason awake, and employs my judgment, not my memory. Few conversations therefore take with me, if there be not life and power in

* Senec. ep. 56.

† Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. v. c. 38.

them. It is true, that the gracefulness and elegance of a speech captivate and ingross my attention as much, or more, than the importance or weight of the subject: And forasmuch as I am apt to be sleepy in all other conversation, and give but little attention thereto, it often happens that in such poor, low discourse, and insipid chat, I either make drowsy, stupid and ridiculous answers, unbecoming a child, or else more indiscreetly and rudely maintain an obstinate silence. I am on the one hand of a pensive temper, which makes me absent from all but myself, and on the other hand am stupidly and childishly ignorant of many common things. By these two qualities I have obtained, that five or six as silly stories may as truly be reported of me as of any other person whatsoever.

But to pursue my subject, this difficult temper of mine renders me very delicate of what company I keep, whom I am obliged to examine nicely, and am therefore unfit for common society. We live and trade with the commonalty. If their conversation be troublesome to us, if we disdain to apply ourselves to mean and vulgar souls (and such are often as regular as the most delicate, and all wisdom is insipid that does not accommodate itself to the stupidity of the vulgar) we must no longer intermeddle either with our own affairs, or those of other men; for those, both of a public and private nature, are dispatched with these people. The motions of the soul, that are the least forced and the most natural, are the most beautiful. Good God! What a vast service, wisdom does to those whose desires it reduces to their power! there is no part of knowledge more profitable. 'As much as lies in our power,' was the favourite maxim and motto of Socrates. A phrase of great moment this; for we must adapt and divert our desires to things that are the nearest, and most easy to be acquired. Is it not a silly humour of mine to separate from a thousand, to whom fortune has joined me, and without whom I cannot live, and stick to one or two that are out of the sphere of my correspondence? Or rather is it not a fantastical desire of a thing which I can never recover? My gentle behaviour, an enemy to all bitterness and moroseness, may easily have secured me from all envy and animosity; for never man gave more occasion, to be beloved

loved I will not say, but not to be hated; yet the coldness of my conversation has justly deprived me of the good will of many, who are not to be blamed tho' they should put another, and a worse construction upon it.

I am very capable of acquiring, and maintaining friendships that are exquisite and uncommon; for as I am eager to close in with such acquaintance as suit my taste, I throw myself without reserve into their arms with such rapture that I can hardly fail to stick to them, and to make an impression where I fasten; and this I have often found by happy experience. To common friendships I am in some measure cold and indifferent, for my course is not natural if it be not with a full sail; besides my fortune having trained me from my youth, and tempted me to love one single and perfect friendship, it has indeed, in some measure, put me out of conceit with others; and too much imprinted it on my fancy that, as one of the ancients said, such vulgar companions are the beasts of the company, tho' not of the herd. And also I have a natural aversion to communicate myself by halves, and with that modification, servile and jealous prudence, which are prescribed to us in the case of numerous and imperfect friendships. And this is enjoined upon us chiefly in this age of ours, when it is impossible to speak of mankind without danger or mistake.

Yet I plainly see, that he who has the conveniencies (I mean the essential conveniencies of life) for his end, as I have, ought to shun these difficulties and delicacies of humour as much as the plague. I should commend a mind of various qualities, which knows both to strain and slacken its vigour, that finds itself at ease in all stages of fortune, a man that can discourse with his neighbour about his building, hunting, or quarrel, and that takes pleasure in chatting with a carpenter, or a gardener. I envy those who can condescend to a familiarity with the meanest of their servants, and to hold a conversation with their train of followers: And I dislike the advice of Plato, that men should always speak in a magisterial strain to their servants, whether male or female, without being ever facetious or familiar *. For besides what

* Magisterial language to servants censured, *De legibus*, lib. vi. p. 872. Edit. Francfort 1602.

my reason tells me, it is both inhuman and unjust to set so great a value upon that same prerogative of fortune; and those governments, wherein there is not so great a disparity admitted betwixt masters and their valets, seem to me the most equitable. Other men study how to elevate and exalt their minds; I to render mine humble and lowly. It is only blameable in being too diffuse.

Narras, et genus Æaci,

Et pugnata sacro bella sub Illo :

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Mercesmur, quis aquam temperat ignibus,

Quo præbente domum, et quolâ

*Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces *.*

Old Æacus you derive from Jove,
And tell what mighty kin he had above;
You all the Trojan wars recite;
But not what Chian wine will cost,
Who make a bath, and who invite,
And who a fire prepares at night,
Now winter sheds its hoary frost.

Thus, as the Lacedæmonians valour stood in need of moderation and of the sweet and harmonious sound of flutes to mollify them in battle, lest they should be guilty of temerity and fury; whereas all other nations commonly make use of strong and shrill sounds and voices, which excite and inflame the soldiers courage to the last degree; so methinks that, contrary to the usual form, in the exercise of our minds we have more need of ballast than sail, of coldness and calmness than of heat and hurry. Above all things, it is in my opinion egregiously to play the fool, to make a parade of wit in company of those who have none; to talk always as it were in print, and to use a stiff quaint stile; or, on the other hand, 'Favellar in punta di Forchetta,' i. e. to affect a finical one like the ladies. You must let yourself down to the level of those you converse withal, and sometimes to affect ignorance. You must lay aside strength and subtlety of argument: It is enough to preserve decency and order in common conversation; and as for the rest, crawl upon the ground if they desire it. The learned are apt to stumble at this stone; they always make a parade of their
superior

* Horace, Ode 19. lib. iii. v. 2, &c.

superior talents, and scatter their books every where ; so that in these days they have so pestered the closets and ears of the ladies with them, that if they have not retained the substance of them, they have at least the shew of them, so that let the subject of their discourse be what it will, they speak and write in a manner that is new and learned.

*Hoc sermone pavent ; hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cunctata effundunt animi secreta, et quid ultrâ ?
Concumbunt dorâ **

In the same language they express their fears,
Their anger and their joys, their griefs and cares,
And vent the secrets of their souls ; what more ?

In the same learned phrase they play the whore.

And they quote Plato and St. Thomas in things for which the first person they meet would be as good authority. The learning that cannot penetrate their souls hangs on their tongues. If those of quality will believe me, they would be content with their own natural treasures. They conceal and cover their own beauties under others that are foreign. It is a great weakness to put out their own light to shine by a borrowed lustre. They are interred and embalmed alive by art †, ‘ De capsula totæ,’ i. e. being painted and perfumed from head to foot. It is because they do not know themselves sufficiently. The world has nothing fairer than they are. This is their doing honour to the arts and painting, even paint itself. What need have they of any thing but to live beloved and honoured ? For this they not only have, but know too much. They need only rouse a little, and give fresh warmth to their internal faculties. When I see them studying rhetoric, law, logic, and the like, which are so insignificant trifles, unnecessary for their occasions, I begin to fear that the men who advise them.

to.

* Juv. Sat. 6. v. 199. † This is an expression of Seneca, which he applies to the Petits Maitres of his time, ‘ Nosti complures juvenes barbâ et cornâ nitidos de capsulâ totos,’ epist. 95. He tells us elsewhere of one of these fops who, being carried by his slaves from the bath in a chair, thought fit to ask them whether or no he was seated ; as if it was a thing beneath his honour to know what he did himself without asking. Seneca de brev. vitæ, c. 12. I have not yet heard that any of our Petits Maitres have come up to this Roman fop.

to it, do it that they may thereby have authority to be their masters. For what other excuse should I find for them. It is enough that they can, without our instruction, give the charms of their eyes an air that is brisk, stern, or languishing; that they can season a denial with severity, suspense, and favour, and that they are not at a loss for an interpreter of the speeches made for their service. With this knowledge they govern with a high hand, and rule both the regents and the scholars.

If nevertheless they think much to give place to us in any thing whatsoever, and have a curiosity to be book learned, poetry is an amusement proper for their occasions, it being a wanton, witty, dissembling, and prattling art, all pleasure and all shew, like themselves. They will also reap many advantages from history. In moral philosophy they will be furnished with lessons that will enable them to judge of our humours and conditions, to defend themselves from our treacheries, to regulate the precipitancy of their own desires, to make good use of their liberty, to lengthen the pleasures of life, and mildly to bear the inconstancy of an humble servant, the roughness of a husband, and the disagreeableness of age, wrinkles, and the like. This is the utmost share that I would allow them in the sciences.

There are some particular tempers that are retired and reclusive. I am naturally formed for communication and production. I am all open and undisguised, born for society and friendship. The solitude which I am fond of myself, and recommend to others, is chiefly with no other view than to withdraw my affections and thoughts into myself; to restrain and check not my proceedings, but my desires and cares, resigning all solicitude that is foreign, with a mortal aversion to servitude and obligation; and not so much to the company of men as to the multiplicity of business. To say the truth, local solitude rather expands and sets me at large. I the more willingly embark in affairs of state and the world when I am alone. At the Louvre, and in the crowd of the court, I keep within my own sphere: The throng makes me retire to myself, and I never entertain myself so wantonly, so licentious, and so singularly, as in places of respect and ceremonious prudence. Our follies do not pro-
voke

voke me to laughter, but our wisdom. I am constitutionally no enemy to the bustle of court. I have spent part of my life there, and am capable of behaving chearfully in great companies, provided it be now and then, and at my own time. But that effeminacy of judgment, of which I have been speaking, attaches me by force to solitude; nay at my own house, in the midst of a numerous family, and a house as much frequented as any, I see people enough, but seldom such as I am fond of conversing with. And I there reserve both for myself and others, an unusual liberty. There is in my house no such thing as ceremony, attendance, conducting and the like fatiguing rules of our courtesy. (Oh! servile and troublesome custom!) Every one there governs himself in his own way, let who will speak his thoughts; while I am mute in deep meditation, and shut up in my closet, without any offence to my guests.

The men, whose society and familiarity I covet, are those they call honest and ingenious men; and the idea of these puts me out of conceit with others. This, if rightly considered, is the rarest of our characters, and a character which is chiefly owing to nature. The end of this commerce is simply private friendship, frequent visits and conference, the correspondence of souls without other advantage. In our discourse all subjects are alike to me. I care not whether there be weight or depth in it. There is still a grace and pertinence in it. The whole is tinged with a judgment mature and steady, and mixed with good nature, frankness, chearfulness, and friendship. It is not only in discoursing on the affairs of kings and states, that our understanding displays its beauty and force, but it shews it as much in private conversation. I know what my people mean, even by their silence and smiles, and discover them better perhaps at table than at the council. Hippomachus said justly, that he knew good wrestlers by only seeing them walk in the streets. If learning will please to bear a part in our conference, it will not be rejected; not the magisterial, imperious, and impertinent kind, as it is generally used, but that which is subordinate and docile in itself. All we intend by it is to pass away the time, for at the hour of being instructed and preached to,

to, we will go seek it in its throne. May it condescend to favour us for this once if it please; for as useful and desirable as it is, I presuppose that though we might want it we could well enough dispense with it, and do our business without it. A person of good breeding, and used to converse with mankind, will naturally be agreeable to every body. Art is nothing but the counter-part and register of what such souls produce.

The conversation of fine, well-bred women is also to me a sweet enjoyment. 'Nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus *,' i. e. for we also are versed in the art of ogling. If the soul has not so much enjoyment in this as in the first, the bodily senses, which likewise have the greatest share of this, reduce it to a proportion near to the other, but in my opinion not quite. It is a commerce however, wherein a man had need be a little upon his guard, and especially those of a vigorous constitution, as mine is. In my youth I got a scald by it, and suffered all the torments which the poets say will happen to those who run into this commerce, without order and judgment. It is true this scourge taught me more wit.

*Quicumque Argolicâ de classe Capharea fugit,
Semper ab Euboicis vela retorquet aquis †.*

The ship that would not on Caphareus run,
Always is sure the Eubœan streight to shun.

It is madness to fix a man's thoughts wholly upon it, and to engage in it with a furious and indiscreet affection; but on the other hand, to be concerned in it without true love, and without the attachment of the will, like comedians, to play a part that is made common by time and custom, without contributing any thing of his own to it but words; it is indeed providing for his safety, but withal in as scandalous a manner as he that abandons his honour, or his profit, or his pleasure, for fear of danger. For it is certain that from such a proceeding no fruit can be expected to satisfy an honest soul. A man cannot take a real pleasure in the enjoyment of what he has not in good earnest desired; and this I say, tho' fortune should be so unjust as to favour their dissimulation, which often happens, because there is none of the
sex,

* Cicer. paradox, v. c. 2.

† Ovid. Trist. lib. i. el. i.

sex, though as ugly as the devil, who does not think herself very amiable, who does not think herself preferable, either for her youth, her hair, or her gait (for with the ugly women it is universally the same as with those that are handsome) and the Brachman virgins, who have no other recommendation, but that of the common cryer, who calls the people together, come forth into the square to expose their matrimonial parts, to try if these at least are not tempting enough to procure them husbands. Consequently there is not one who does not easily suffer herself to be engaged by the first vow that is made to serve her. Now, from this treachery so common in the men of this age, it must needs happen, as we have already seen by experience, viz. that the women rally and re-unite themselves on purpose to avoid us, or else form their ranks by the example we give them, play their part of the farce, and give way to this negotiation without passion, care, or love. Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxia*, i. e. Neither slaves to their own passion, nor to that of another person; believing, according to the persuasion of Lyfias in Plato, that they may with the more advantage and convenience surrender themselves up to us the less we love them. The result will be as it is in comedies, where the audience has as much, or more pleasure than the actors. For my part, I have no more notion of a Venus without a Cupid, than of a mother without a child. They are what mutually lend and owe their existence to one another. Therefore this cheat rebounds upon the person that commits it; to whom indeed it is of little or no expence, nor on the other hand does he get any thing by it of value. They who have made Venus a goddess, have taken notice that her chief beauty was incorporeal and spiritual; but the Venus whom these people court is not so much as human, nor even brutal, but so very gross and terrestrial, that the very beasts will not accept her. We see that imagination and desire often heats and stimulates them before the body does: We see in both the sexes, that in the herd, they make choice and trial of their affections, and that they

* Tacitus's annal. lib. xiii. c. 45. where the historian speaks only of the famous Poppæa, the wife of Nero, the perfect model of coquetry.

they have among themselves an acquaintance of old good will. Even those which old age has deprived of bodily strength, do yet tremble, neigh, and twitter for love. We see them before the fact, full of hope and heat; and when the body has played its part, still tickled with the sweet remembrance of it; and we see some animals that swell with pride after the performance, and being tired and satiated, do yet, by vociferation, express a triumphant joy. He that has nothing to do, but only to discharge his body of a natural necessity, need not find employment for another by such curious preparations. This is not food for a coarse hoggish appetite.

As one who does not desire to be thought better than I am, I shall now tell of the follies of my youth. I have seldom been addicted to mercenary and common embraces, not only for my health's sake (and yet with all my care I had two mischances, though they were slight fore-runners) but also from a contempt of what was vulgar and venal. I chose to heighten this pleasure by difficulty, by desire, and a certain kind of vanity: And I was of the emperor Tiberius's * mind, who, in his amours, was as much smitten with modesty and an honourable extraction, as with any other quality; and of the taste of Flora, the courtesan †, who never prostituted herself to less than a dictator, a consul, or a censor; and solaced herself in the dignity of her lovers. Certainly pearl and tissue, titles and attendants, add something to the pleasure.

As for the rest, I had a great liking to wit, provided the body was not exceptionable. For to confess the truth, if either of these two beauties must of necessity be wanting, I should prefer the personal before the rational. The latter is of use in better things; but in the subject of love,

* Tacit. annal. lib. vi. c. 1. † After having turned over many books in search of Montaigne's authority for this story, I found in Bayle's dictionary that it is Brantome, who in his *lives, Des Femmes Galantes*, tom. i. p. 313, &c. says that the courtesan Flora was of a good family and lineage; and that, whereas Lais was a common prostitute to all mankind, Flora only obliged the GREAT, inasmuch that she had this inscription over her door, 'YE KINGS, PRINCES, Dictators, Consuls, Censors, Pontiffs, Quæstors, Ambassadors, and other great men, enter and welcome; but no others.'

love, a subject in which the senses of seeing and feeling are chiefly concerned, something may be done without the charms of the mind, but without those of the body nothing. Beauty is the true advantage of the women, and so peculiarly theirs, that what we have, though it requires other features to render it such, is only in its best state when it is puerile and beardless, and blended with theirs. It is said that those preferred to the service of the grand signior, on the score of their beauty, who are of an infinite number, are dismissed at 22 years of age at the farthest. Reason, prudence, and the offices of friendship, are more commonly found among the men; and therefore they govern the affairs of the world.

The two sorts of commerce, or conversation, which we have mentioned, viz. that with men by a free and familiar conversation, and that with women by love, are accidental, and dependent on another. The one does not occur so often as it were to be wished; the other decays with age; so that they could never have been sufficient for the necessities of my life. That with books, which is the third, is much more sure, and more within our power. It yields to the former in the other advantages, but has constancy and readiness of service for its sole share. It accompanies me, and is assisting to me wherever I go: It comforts me in old age and solitude; it eases me of the weight of idle time, and delivers me at any hour from disagreeable company; and it blunts the edge of pain, if it be not extreme, and has not the intire possession of me. To divert myself from an uneasy thought, it is but to run to my books; they presently drive it out of my mind, by turning its attention to them: And though they see that I only have recourse to them for want of other more real, natural, and lively benefits, they do not reflect on me for it, but always receive me with the same countenance. 'He may well go on foot,' they say, 'who leads his horse in his hand.' And our James, king of Naples and Sicily, who, while handsome, young, and healthy, caused himself to be carried up and down in a hand-barrow, upon a sorry mattraß, dressed in a vest of grey cloth, and a cap of the same; yet attended in great royal pomp with horse-litters, led horses of all sorts, gentlemen and officers; put on an au-

sterity that was effeminate and unsteady. The sick man is not to be pitied who has his cure in his pocket. In the experience and practice of this, which is a very true sentence, consists all the benefit which I receive from books; and yet in fact I make as little use of them, in a manner, as they who know them not. I enjoy them as misers do their hoards, by knowing that I have them to use when I please. With this right of possession my mind is satisfied, and at rest. I never travel without my books, be it in time of war or of peace; yet sometimes, for several days or months, I do not look into them. I will read by and by, I say to myself, or to-morrow when I am in the humour. Mean while the time runs away without any inconvenience to me; for it is impossible to say how tranquil and easy I am in this consideration, that I have them by me, to divert myself with them whenever I please; and in the thought of what an assistance they are to me in life.—This is the best viaticum I have yet known for this mortal pilgrimage, and I extremely pity those men of understanding who are unprovided with it; and yet I rather accept of any other kind of every other amusement, be it ever so light, because this cannot fail me.

When I am at home I the oftner visit my library, from which I at once survey all the operations of my family. It is over the entrance into my house, from whence I have a view under me of my court-yards and garden, and of most of the offices of my house. There I turn over one book, then another, on various subjects, without order, and without design. One while I ruminate, another while I copy and dictate, as I walk to and fro, such whimsies as these in my essays. It is in the third story of a tower, of which the first is my chapel, the second a chamber with its closets, where I often lye to be retired; above it is a great wardrobe. This was formerly the most useless part of my house. I there pass away the most of the days of my life, and most of the hours of the day, but am never there at night. At the end of it there is a very neat closet, with pleasant window-lights, and a fire-place. And was I not more afraid of the trouble than of the expence, the trouble, which drives me from all application to business, I could easily join to it on each side, and on the same floor, a gallery of one hundred

dred paces in length, and twelve in breadth; there being walls already raised, tho' for another design, to the height that is requisite. Every retired place should have a walk in it. For if I sit still my thoughts sleep. My fancy does not operate so well as when it is put in motion by that of my legs. They who study without a book are all in the same condition. The form of my study is round, and has no more level than what is taken up by my table and chair; so that the curb presents me with a view of all my books in five rows of shelves, quite round me. It has three noble and free prospects, and is sixteen paces in the diameter. I am not so continually there in the winter, for my house is perched upon an eminence, as its name imports, and this part of it is most exposed to the wind, which pleases me the better, for not being so easy of access, and a little remote, as well for the benefit of exercise as for being more retired. It is there that I am in my kingdom, as we say; and there I endeavour to render myself sole monarch, and to sequester this corner from all society, conjugal, filial, and civil. Every where else I have but a verbal authority, and of a confused essence. Miserable is that man, in my opinion, who has no place at home where to be by himself, where to entertain himself alone, or to conceal himself from others. Ambition sufficiently plagues its proselytes by keeping them always in shew, like a statue in a market-place, 'Magna servitus est magna fortuna *,' i. e. A great fortune is a great slavery. They have scarce a retirement for the necessities of nature. I have thought nothing so severe, in the austerity of life which our friars affect, as what I see in some of their fraternities; namely, to have a perpetual society of place by rule, and numerous assistants among them in every action whatever; and I think it somewhat more tolerable to be always alone, than never to be so.

If any one shall tell me, that it is undervaluing the muses to make use of them only for mirth and pastime, I shall say he does not know the value of pleasure, play, and pastime, so well as I do; I live from hand to mouth, and, with reverence be it spoken, I only live for myself; in that all my designs terminate. I studied, when

* Senec. consolatio ad Polybium, c. 26.

young, for the sake of ostentation, afterwards for wisdom, and now for my recreation, but never for gain. A vain and prodigal longing I had for this sort of furniture, to supply my own necessity, and moreover to dress and adorn myself with it; but I have long since weaned myself of it.

Books have many charming qualities to such as know how to chuse them; but there is no good without its evil. This is a pleasure, not more pure and untainted than others; it has its inconveniencies, and great ones too. The soul is exercised in it, but the body, the care of which I ought not to forget, remains in the mean time without action, grows heavy and stupid. I know of no excess more prejudicial to me, or more to be avoided in this my declining age. Thus have I given you my three favourite, and particular occupations. I speak not of the duties I owe to mankind by civil obligation.

C H A P. IV. *Of Diversion.*

I Was once employed to console a lady, who was truly afflicted; the most of their mournings are affected and ceremonious.

*Uberibus semper lachrymis, semperque paratis,
In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,
Quo jubeat manare modo *.*

They always have a dam for present use,
Ready prepar'd whene'er they draw the sluice,
On least pretence of joys, or griefs, or fears,
To sally out in false dissembling tears.

It is going the wrong way to work to oppose this passion, for opposition does but irritate it, and make them more sorrowful. The evil is exasperated by the warmth of argument. We see in common discourse, that what slips unguardedly from a man, if another goes to controvert it, the former takes it in dudgeon, and justifies what he had said; especially if it be a matter wherein he is interested. And besides, in so doing you enter upon your work in a rough manner; whereas the first visits of a physician, to his patient, ought

* Juv. Sat. 6. v. 272, &c.

ought to be gentle, gay, and pleasant. Never did any ill-looking, sullen physician do any thing to purpose. On the contrary therefore a man must, in order to make his way, sooth the patients complaints, and express some approbation and excuse for them. By this discretion you gain credit to proceed farther; and, by an easy and insensible gradation, you fall into a reasoning that is more solid and proper for their cure. I, whose chief aim it was to deceive those by-standers who had their eyes fixed upon me, thought fit to palliate the disease; though indeed I find, by experience, that I have an awkward and unlucky hand at persuasion. My arguments are either too poignant, too dry, or too blunt, and lifeless. After I had for a while applied myself to her grievance, I did not attempt to cure it by strong and lively arguments, either because I had them not to use, or because I thought to gain my point better another way; neither did I set about the choice of the various methods of consolation prescribed by philosophy; as that what we complain of is no evil; according to Cleanthes *; that it is a slight evil; as the Peripatetics say; that to complain thus is neither just nor laudable, according to Chrysippus; nor the method prescribed by Epicurus, more suitable to my taste, viz. shifting the thought from things that are afflicting to those that are pleasant; nor like Cicero, to make a collection of all these together, in order to dispense them occasionally: But, by softly weakening the force of my arguments, and turning them by degrees sometimes to subjects nearer to the present case, and at other times to those that were a little more remote; according as she attended the more to me, I insensibly deprived her of her sorrow, and kept her calm and quite composed as long as I was with her. I diverted the complaint; but they who succeeded me in the same service found no amendment in her, for I had not gone to the root.

Peradventure I may have glanced elsewhere on some kind of public diversions: and the practice of military diversions, which Pericles made use of in the Peloponnesian war, and of a thousand more such in other places, for drawing off the enemy's forces from a country, is too

* Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. iii. c. 31.

frequent in history. It was an ingenious stratagem by which the Sieur de Himbercourt * saved both himself and others, in the city of Liege, when the Duke of Burgundy, who besieged it, made him enter into it to execute the articles that were agreed to for the surrender of it. The towns-people, who assembled in the night for that purpose, began to mutiny against the agreement, and many of them resolved to fall foul upon the negociators of it, whom they had in their power. He feeling the gust of this first storm of the people, who were about rushing into his quarters to kill him suddenly, sent out two of the inhabitants of the city to them (for he had some of them then present with him) to make an offer to the town-council of fresh, and more favourable terms, which he had framed on the spot for the present occasion. These two men diverted the first storm, by the repair of the enraged rabble to the town house, to hear and consider of the subject of their commission. The deliberation was short, and so a second storm arose with as much fury as the other; whereupon he dispatched four fresh mediators, of the same quality, to them, protesting that they had now better conditions to offer to them, and such as would give them intire content and satisfaction; by which means the people were again repressed. In short, by thus diverting their fury with such a contrivance of amusements, as made them spend it in vain consultations, by which it was at last laid asleep; he spun out the affair to another day, which was the principal thing he wanted.

This other story is also of the same stamp. Atalanta, a virgin of excelling beauty, and admirable texture of body, in order to disengage herself from a thousand, or more suitors, who courted her in marriage, she proposed this condition to them, that she would accept of him for a husband that should equal her in running, provided † that they who came short of her should be put to death. There were enough who thought the prize very well worth

* You will find this story at full length in the memoirs of Philip de Comines, lib. ii. c. 3.

† *Præmia veloci conjux thalamique dabuntur:*

Mors pretium tardis: ea lex certaminis esto.

Ovid. Met. lib. x. fab. 11. v. 12, 13.

worth such a risque, and who suffered the penalty of this cruel bargain. Hippomanes, being to make trial after the others, invoked the tutelar Goddess of his amorous passion, and implored her assistance, who, hearing his petition, furnished him with three golden apples, and an instruction how to use them. The field on which they ran being quite open, as soon as Hippomanes perceived his mistress close at his heels, he, as if by inadvertency, let fall one of the apples, the beauty of which was so tempting to the virgin, that she failed not to turn out of the way to take it up.

*Obstupuit virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit *.*

The nimble virgin dazzled to behold

The shining apple rolling on the mold,

Stopp'd her career to seize the tempting gold.

He did the same, when he saw himself hard pressed, by the second and third apples, till, by thus diverting her, and making her go often out of her way, he won the race.

When physicians cannot purge off a catarrh, they divert and turn it to some other less dangerous part. And I find also that this is the most ordinary practice for diseases of the mind. The mind, says Cicero, is sometimes to be drawn off to other thoughts, pursuits, cares, and occupations, and must often be cured, like sick persons, by the change of place †. It gives a little jostle to a man's disorders; it neither makes him sustain, nor diminish their attack, and only makes him decline and turn out of the way from it.

This other lesson is too sublime and too difficult. It is for men of the first class to pause upon, consider, and judge of it. It belongs only to a Socrates, not to change countenance when he looks at death, but to grow familiar, and to sport with it. He seeks for no comfort but what he expects from that. To die appears to him a natural and indifferent accident. It is thereon that he fixes his sight and resolution, without looking elsewhere.

The disciples of Hegesias, who actually starved themselves to death, and were animated to it by the fine language

* Ovid. Metam. lib. x. fab. 11. v. 107, &c.

† Cic. Tusc. quest. lib. iv. c. 35.

guage of his instructions, which was so powerful that king Ptolemy forbid him to entertain his followers any more with such homicide doctrines *; those disciples, I say, do not consider death in itself, nor do they judge of it. It is not on that they fix their thoughts; they run towards, and aim at a new being.

Those poor wretches that we see brought upon a scaffold, full of ardent devotion; and therein employing all their senses as far as possible, their ears to the instructions given them, their eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, and their voices employed in loud prayers, with a vehement and continual emotion, do things doubtless which are laudable and proper for such a necessity. We ought to commend them for their devotion, but not properly for their constancy. They shun the encounter, they turn death out of their thoughts, and amuse themselves with some trifle or other, as children are amused when a surgeon goes to prick them with the lancet. I have seen some who, when they have happened to look down upon those dreadful instruments of death that are near them, have fainted, and furiously turned their thoughts another way. Those who are to be cast from a frightful precipice, are advised either to shut their eyes, or turn them to another side.

Subrius Flavius, the general, being, by Nero's command, to be put to death, and by the hands of Niger, another general, when they led him to the place of execution, Flavius perceiving the hollow that Niger had caused to be made for his neck, to be badly contrived, said to the soldiers, who were present, 'Neither is this according to military discipline.' And when Niger exhorted him to keep his head steady, 'Do you but strike,' said he, 'as steadily †.' And he was right in his guess, for Niger's arm trembled so, that he made several strokes at his neck before he cut off his head. This man, indeed, seems to have had his thoughts steadily fixed on the subject.

He that dies in a battle, sword in hand, neither thinks, apprehends, nor considers of death, being diverted from the idea of it by the heat of the battle. An honest man of my acquaintance falling down by a thrust in a combat,

and

* Valer. Max. lib. viii. c. 9. Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. i. c. 34.

† Tacit. *annal.* lib. xv. c. 67.

and receiving nine or ten stabs from his adversary as he lay stretched on the ground, every one present called out to him to examine his conscience ; but he told me afterwards, that tho' he heard what they said, it nothing moved him, and that he thought of nothing but how to disengage himself, and be revenged. He killed his man in that same rencounter. He who brought L. Syllanus *, the sentence of his death, did him very great service, forasmuch as that having heard his answer †, ' That he was well prepared to die, but not by the hand ' of an executioner,' he rushed upon him with his soldiers, when he, being quite unarmed, defended himself obstinately with his fists and feet, till he received so many wounds that he was killed, after having, by this sudden frenzy, dissipated the painful apprehension of the lingering death for which he was designed.

We always think of something else ; either the expectation of a better life lays hold of us, and supports us, or the hopes of the valour of our children, or of the honour that will be hereafter done to our names, or the flight from the evils of this world, or the vengeance that threatens those who are the authors of our death. Poor Dido says,

*Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
Sæpe vocaturum.*

* * * * *

Audiam: et hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos †.

Sure if the gods have any pow'r at all,
Split on the rocks, thou wilt on Dido call;
But call in vain: Thy shipwreck I shall know
By fame convey'd me to the shades below.

Xenophon was sacrificing, with a crown upon his head, when news was brought to him of the death of his son Gryllus, slain at the battle of Mantinea §. At the first intelligence of it he took off his crown, and threw it on the ground; but hearing, in the sequel of the narrative, how valiantly he fell, he took it up, and replaced it on his

* Tacitus calls him Lucius Silanus, annal. lib. 16. c. 7.

† Tacit. annal. lib. xvi. c. 9.

‡ Virgil Æneid. lib. iv. v. 382, &c.

§ Valer. Max. lib. v. § 10.

his head. Epicurus himself, at his death, comforts himself by the consideration of the utility and eternity of his writings. 'Omnes clari et nobilitati labores, fiunt tolerabiles *,' i. e. All works that are illustrious and renowned are to be borne with. And the same wound, the same fatigue are not equally intolerable, as Xenophon says, to a general of an army and a common soldier. Epaminondas died with much more chearfulness when he was informed that victory had declared for him. 'Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum †.' These are the lenitives, these the fomentations of the greatest sorrows. And other circumstances of the like kind amuse and entertain us, and turn off our consideration of the thing in itself. Even the arguments of philosophy are always edging and glancing on the subject, without scarce touching the exterior part. The greatest man of the chief school of philosophy, which superintended the others, I mean the great Zeno, forms these syllogisms with respect to death and drunkenness. 'Nullum malum gloriosum est; mors autem gloriosa est; mors ergo non est malum ‡,' i. e. No evil is honourable; but death is honourable; therefore death is not an evil. Nobody trusts a drunken man with a secret, but any one will trust a wise man; therefore no wise man is a drunkard. Is this hitting the mark? I am pleased to see that these first-rate Geniuses cannot divest themselves of their fellowship with us. With all their pretended perfections they are still but stupid mortals.

Revenge is a sweet passion, and strongly imprinted in nature. I see it plainly, tho' I have no experience of it. To divert a young prince from it lately, I did not offer to say, that, to the man who had smote him on one cheek, he should turn the other also, in obedience to charity; nor did I endeavour to set before him the tragical events which poetry ascribes to this passion. I did not meddle with his passion, but tried, for a fancy, to give him a relish of the beauty of a contrary quality; and, by representing the honour, favour, and good will, which he would acquire by good nature, I gave his mind a turn to ambition. Thus I carried my point.

If

* Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. ii. c. 25.

‡ Senec. epist. 82, 83.

† Idem, *ibid.* c. 24.

If your affection in the article of love be too strong, disperse it, say they; and they are perfectly right, for I myself have often tried it with advantage. Break it into desires of various kinds, of which, if you please, there may be one regent and paramount; but, for fear lest it should tyrannize and domineer over you, weaken, and give it some pause, by dividing and diverting it.

*Cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena **.

Conjicio humorem collectum in corpora quæque †.

When one amour engrosses all thy mind
Discharge thy loins on all the leaky kind:
For that's a wiser way than to restrain

Within thy swelling nerves, that hoard of pain.
And look to it in time, lest it prove too troublesome to
deal with when it has once got possession of you.

Si non prima novis conturbes vulnere plagis,

Volgi vagæque vagus Venere ante recentia cures.

Unless you fancy ev'ry one you view,
Ramble in love, and cure old wounds by new.

I was once disturbed by a strong passion, according to my natural temper, though not so vehement as just; and peradventure had been undone by it if I had merely trusted to my own strength. Having need of a powerful diversion to draw me out of it, I grew amorous by art and by study, wherein I was assisted by my youth. Love relieved me and rescued me from the evil, which was brought upon me by friendship. It is the same in every other case. If a violent imagination possesses me, I think it the shorter way to change than to conquer it. I depute one at least different from it, if not contrary to it. Variation does always relieve, dissolve, and dissipate. If I cannot encounter with it, I escape from it, and, in avoiding it, I slip out of the way, and use craft. By shifting of places, business, and company, I hide myself in the crowd of other amusements and sentiments, where it loses the trace of me, and wanders out of my way.

In this manner nature proceeds, by the aid of inconstancy; for the time she has given us for the sovereign cure of our passions, gains its effects chiefly by reason, that supplying our imagination with a superfoetation of
objects,

* Pers. sat. 6. v. 73. † Lucret. l. 4. v. 1063, &c.

objects, it loosens and dissolves the first apprehension how strong soever. A wise man visits his dying friend almost as much at the end of 25 years as in the first year; and, according to Epicurus, altogether as much; for he did not think the foresight of troubles, or their antiquity, an alleviation of them. But so many other thoughts run across this, that it languishes, and is at length wearied out.

Alcibiades *, in order to take off the fondness of the people for common reports, cut off the ears and tail of his beautiful dog, and turned him out of doors, on purpose to give them a subject for discourse, instead of prating of his other actions. For this same purpose of misleading the opinions, conjectures, and conversation of the people, I have also seen some women conceal their real affections by such as were counterfeit. Nay, I have seen one who has counterfeited so long, that she has in good earnest dropped the real and original love, and been captivated by the feigned one: and by her I found that they who know their affections well placed, are fools to consent to such a disguise. The public reception, and entertainments being reserved for such pretended humble servants, a man may conclude him to be no conjurer if he does not in the end put himself into your place, and send you to his. This is properly to cut out, and make a shoe for another to wear.

A little thing disengages and puts us aside; for a small matter engages us. We do not consider subjects, in the gross, and single in themselves: We are smitten with minute and superficial circumstances, or images, and with the insignificant parings of subjects.

Folliculos ut nunc teretes æstate cicadæ

Linguunt †.

Such as the hollow husks or bags we find

That butterflies in summer leave behind.

Plutarch himself † laments his daughter for the monkey-tricks she played in her infancy. The remembrance of a farewell, a particular action or favour, or of a final commendation,

* Plutarch, in the life of Alcibiades, says, this dog cost him 700 crowns, and that his tail was his greatest beauty.

† Lucret. lib. v. v. 801, &c. † In a treatise, intitled, A word of comfort to his wife, on the death of her daughter, c. 1.

commendation, afflicts us. The sight of Cæsar's robe troubled all Rome, which was more than his death had done. The very sound of names ringing in our ears, as, 'My poor master; my very good friend; alas! my dear father; or my sweet daughter,' affect us. When those repetitions torment me, and I examine them closely, I find it is no other than a grammatical complaint. The word and tone affect me, as the exclamations of preachers often work more upon their auditories than their arguments, and as we are moved at the pitiful cries of a beast that is killed for our service, without my weighing or penetrating, in the mean while, into the true and solid essence of my subject.

—— *his se stimulis dolor ipse laceffit* *.

With these incitements grief doth itself provoke. These are the grounds of our mourning.

The obstinate continuance of the stone, especially those in my bladder, has sometimes been attended with so long a suppression of urine, even for three or four days together, and brought me so near death, that it would have been a folly to have hoped to escape it, or even so much as to have desired to escape it, considering what I suffer from its cruel attacks. What a monster of cruelty was that emperor, who, among other tortures, which he invented for his criminals †, suffered them to drink as much wine as they could swallow, and then caused their privy members to be tied up so hard that their urine might stop and kill them. Finding myself in that state, I considered by what trifling causes and objects imagination fed my desire of life, of what atoms the weight and difficulty of parting with it was composed in my soul, and to how many frivolous thoughts we give way in so great an affair. A dog, a horse, a book, a glass, and what not, were reckoned in my loss: And others with no less folly, in my opinion, reckoned up in theirs their ambitious hopes, their money and their science. I look upon death with indifference when I consider it as the end of life, universally. I insult over it in the gross; but, when it comes to particulars, it harrows my soul. The tears of a footman, the disposal of my old cloaths,

* Lucan. lib. ii. v. 42.
c. 62.

† Suetonius in the life of Tiberius,

the touch of a friendly hand, a common consolation, discourage me, and sink my spirits. Thus are our souls troubled by the complaints in romance: And the regrets of Dido and Ariadne in Virgil and Catullus, raise a compassion even in those who do not believe them. It is a proof of an obstinate hard heart, never to perceive it moved; as they tell a wonderful story of Polemon, who is said to have not so much as turned pale at the bite of a mad dog, though it tore away the calf of his leg *. Nor is it within the extent of human wisdom, to have so lively and intire a conception of the cause of sorrow, by judgment, as not to be encreased by its presence, when the eyes and ears are witnesses of it, the parts which are only to be agitated by trifling accidents.

Is it reason that even the arts themselves should make an advantage of our natural stupidity and weakness? An orator, says rhetoric, during the farce of his pleading, shall be moved by the sound of his own voice, and his feigned agitations, and suffer himself to be captivated by the passion which he represents. He will imprint on himself a true and real grief, by means of the part he plays, for the sake of transferring it to the audience, who are yet less affected than himself; like those persons who are hired at funerals, to assist in the ceremony of mourning, who sell their tears, and their sadness by weight and measure. For, though they act in a borrowed shape, yet, by adjusting and habituating their countenance to the occasion, it is certain that they are often entirely swallowed up by it, and immersed in real melancholy. I was one, among many other of his friends, who attended the corpse of M. de Grammont to Soissons; from the siege of la Fere, where he was killed. I observed that in all the places, through which we passed, we set the people a weeping and lamenting by only the solemn parade of our convoy, for the name of the deceased was not so much as known by them. Quintilian † says, he had seen comedians so deeply engaged in a mourning scene, that they could not help weeping when they went off the stage; and that having himself undertaken to stir up a passion in another person, he espoused it

* In his life by Diogenes Laertius, lib. iv. § 17.

† Instit. orat. lib. vi. c. 2. at the end.

it himself to such a degree, that he not only shed tears, but waxed pale, and behaved like a man truly overwhelmed with grief *.

In a country, near our mountains, the women act both the priest and the clerk; for as they magnify the loss of the deceased husband by the remembrance of what good and agreeable qualities he had, they, at the very same time, make a collection and proclamation of his imperfections, as if they would make themselves some amends, and so divert their compassion to contempt; and yet, with a much better grace than we do, who, at the loss of a prime acquaintance, strive to give him new and false praise, and to make him quite another man, when we have lost sight, of him than he appeared to be when we saw him, as if regret was a matter of instruction, or that tears, by washing our understanding, cleared it. For my part, I henceforth quit claim to all favourable characters the world shall be disposed to give of me; not because I shall be worthy of them, but because I shall be dead.

If any one asks another, what concern have you in this siege? 'The interest of example, he will say, and of the common obedience due to my prince; I aim at no profit from it whatsoever; and for honour, I know what a small share of it can redound to such a private man as I am: I have in this neither passion nor quarrel.' See him, however, but the next day, and you will find him quite another man, chafing, and red hot with rage, in his line of the battle, for the assault. It is the glittering of so much steel, the fire and noise of our cannon and drums that has infused this fresh rancor and hatred into his veins. A frivolous cause you will say: How is it a cause? There needs none to put the mind in agitation. A mere whimsy, without body and without subject, governs and puts it in motion. Let me think of building castles in Spain, my imagination suggests to me conveniences and pleasures, with which my soul is really pleased and delighted. How often do we torment our minds with anger or sorrow by such shadows, and plunge ourselves in fantastic passions, which alter us both body and soul? What astonished, fleeing, and confused gri-

* Instit. orat. lib. vi. c. 2. at the end.

maces, do such idle notions excite in our countenances? What sallies and agitations do they create, both of the members and the voice? Does it not seem that this individual man has false notions from a crowd of others, with whom he has dealings, or some devil within him that persecutes him? Inquire of yourself where is the object of this change? Is there any thing in nature, man excepted, which nothing sustains, over which nothing has any power? * Cambyſes, for only having dreamt in his sleep that his brother was to be one day king of Persia, put him to death, tho' he was a brother that he loved, and always confided in †. Aristodemus, king of the Messenians, killed himself, out of a fancy that a certain howling of his dogs was an ill omen ‡. And king Midas did the same, because he had dreamt some disagreeable dream §. It is taking life at its just value to abandon it for a dream. Hear nevertheless how the soul triumphs over the wretchedness and weakness of the body, and its being liable to all injuries and alterations: And truly it has reason to speak thus of it.

O prima infelix fingenti terra Promethea!

Ille parùm cauti pectoris egit opus.

Corpora disponens, mentem non videt in arte

Recta animi primùm debuit esse via ||.

Oh! 'twas for man a most unhappy day
When rash Prometheus form'd him out of clay?
In his attempt, the heedless architect,
Did indiscreetly the main thing neglect.
In framing bodies, he had not the art,
To form the mind, the first and noblest part.

C H A P. V. *On some Verses of Virgil.*

USEFUL meditation is the more embarrassing and burthensome by being copious and solid. Vice, death, poverty, and distempers, are subjects that are

* The English translator, (Mr. Cotton) for want of having seen Angelier's edition of Montaigne in 4to, Anno 1588, has mistaken the sense of this passage, by wording it thus, 'Is there any thing but us in nature, but subsisting nullity, over which it has power?' A phrase unintelligible, and only quoted, lest many of his readers should be led into the same mistake. † Herodot. lib. iii. p. 196. ‡ Plutarch's treatise of superstition, c. 9. § Id. ibid. || Propert. lib. iii. el. 5. v. 7.

are both grave and grievous. It is necessary for the mind to be well furnished with the means of sustaining and combating with evils, and instructed in the rules of a good life, and a right belief; and it should be often roused and exercised in this noble study. But, in an ordinary soul, this must be by relaxing sometimes, and with moderation; for, if continually bent to it, it will grow stupid. In my youth I found it necessary to put myself in mind, and to solicit myself to keep to my duty. Gaiety and health, they say, do not agree quite so well with these serious and wise discourses. I am at this present in another state. The terms of old age only give me too much warning, preach to me, and make me grow wiser. From an excessive sprightliness, I am sunk into excessive gravity, which is worse. For that reason I now suffer my fancy to run wild for the purpose, and sometimes employ my mind in wanton and juvenile thoughts, with which it diverts itself. I am of late but too reserved, too grave, and too sedate. Every day, at these years, admonishes me to be cool and temperate. This body of mine avoids irregularity, and dreads it. It is now its turn to guide my mind towards a reformation. This too governs in its turn, and more roughly and imperiously than the other. It does not let me rest an hour, either sleeping or waking, from some instruction concerning death, patience, and repentance. I now deny myself temperance, as I did formerly pleasure; for it draws me too far back, and even to a degree of stupidity. Now I would fain be my own master in every respect. Even wisdom has its excess, and has as much need of moderation as folly; therefore lest I should wither, dry up, and over-burden myself with prudence, in the intervals, which my infirmities allow me,

*Mens intenta suis ne fiet usque-matis **

Lest that my mind shou'd evermore be bent,

And fix'd on subjects full of discontent.

I gently decline it, and turn away my eyes from the stormy and cloudy sky that I have before me; which, thanks be to God, I consider without fear, but not without meditation and debate; and amuse myself with the remembrance of the days of my youth.

* Ovid, de trist. lib. iv. eleg. 1. v. 4.

A a 3

animus

— *animus quod perdidit, optat,*

Atque in præteritâ se totus imagine versat *.

The mind longs to regain what it has lost,

And by things past is totally ingross'd.

Was it not the meaning of Janus's double face, to signify that childhood should look forward, and old age backward? Let years drag me on as they may, but it shall be backward. As long as my eyes are able to review that beautiful season, which is expired, I now and then turn them that way. Though it is gone out of my blood-vessels, yet I am not willing to root the image of it out of my memory.

— *hoc est,*

Vivere bis, vitâ posse frui priare †.

He liveth twice, who can the gift retain

Of mem'ry, to enjoy past life again.

Plato prescribes to old men to be present at the exercises, dancings, and sports of youth, that they may be pleased to see in others that activity and beauty of the body, which in themselves is no more; and that they may recall to mind the gracefulness and bloom of that flourishing stage of life: And he requires that, in those recreations, they ascribe the honour of the victory to the young man who has given the best, and the most diversion and joy to the company. I used formerly to mark dull gloomy days as extraordinary; those are now my ordinary ones, and the extraordinary are the serene, bright days. I am ready to leap out of my skin for joy, as much as if I had received a new favour when I had not a right to one. With whatever vain fancies I please myself, I cannot sometimes force one poor smile from this wretched body of mine. I am only merry in conceit, and, as in a dream, to divert by stratagem the chagrin of old age: But surely it would require another remedy than a dream. A weak struggle of art against nature. It is a great folly to lengthen and anticipate human inconveniencies, as every body does. I had rather be old, tho' it be for a less time, than to be old before I am really so †. I seize on even the least occasions of pleasure that come in my way. I know well, by hear-say, several sorts

* Petronius, p. 90. of the Paris Edition, 1587. † Martial.
lib. x. epig. 23, v. 7. † Cicero's treatise of old age, c. 10.

sorts of pleasures, which are prudent, manly, and honourable ; but opinion has not power enough over me to give me an appetite for them. I covet not so much to have them gallant, magnificent and pompous, as I do to have them delightful, easy to come at, and ready at hand. ‘ A Natura discedimus: Populo nos damus, nullius rei bono autori *,’ i. e. We abandon nature to follow the popular taste, from which no good comes. My philosophy is, in action, in natural and present practice, very little in fancy. What a pleasure should I take in playing at cob-nut, or whipping a top!

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem †.

—————He was too wise

Idle reports before his health to prize.

Pleasure is a quality of very little ambition. It thinks itself rich enough, without any mixture of reputation with it, and is best pleased in obscurity. That young man who should pretend to a palate for wine and sauces, ought to be whipped. There was nothing which I less knew and valued, but now I learn it. I am very much ashamed of it, but what should I do? I am more ashamed and vexed at the occasions that prompt me to it. It is for us to doat and tell old wives stories, but young men must mind their reputation, and make a genteel figure. Youth is advancing into the world, and into credit. We are going out of it. ‘ Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi pilam, sibi natationes, et cursus habeant; nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt et tesseris †,’ i. e. Let them reserve to themselves arms, horses, spears, clubs, tennis, swimming, and racing; and of the many sports, leave dice and draughts, and the chessboard, to us old men. The laws themselves send us to our houses. I can do no less in favour of this wretched state into which I am pushed by my age, than to furnish it with play-things and amusements, as they do children, into whose class we are also relapsed. Both wisdom and folly will have enough

* Senec. epist. 99. † This is a very pleasant application of a grave verse, quoted out of Ennius by Cicero de offic. lib. 1. c. 24. where that poet, speaking of Fabius Maximus, says, That while he was acting for the public good, he was indifferent to every thing that was said at Rome to run down his conduct.

† Cic. de senectute, c. 16.

enough to do to support and relieve me, by alternate offices, in this calamity of age.

Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem *.

Short folly mix with graver cares.

I also avoid the slightest attacks, for what would not have scratched me formerly, do now pierce me through and through. My constitution begins naturally to be so crazy; In fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est, i. e. To a weak constitution every injury is hateful.

Mensque pati durum sustinet ægra nihil †.

And a sick mind nothing that's harsh can bear.

I was always of so delicate a constitution that the least injury would hurt me; and I am now become more tender, and more exposed on all sides.

Et minimæ vires frangere quassæ valent ‡.

A crack'd pitcher is soon broke.

My judgment restrains me from repining and grumbling at the inconveniences I suffer by the law of nature; but it does not take away my feeling. Having no other view but a merry life, I would run from one end of the world to the other, in quest of one year of pleasant and jocund tranquillity. I have enough of that sort which is gloomy and stupid, but it makes me sleepy and brain-sick. I am not satisfied with it. If there be any person, and any good company in country or city, in France or elsewhere, resident or travelling, who can like my humour, and whose humours I can like, let them but give a whistle, and I will go and furnish them with essays fat and lean.

Since it is the prerogative of the mind to rescue itself from old age, I advise mine by all means to do it. Mean time let it wax green and flourish like mistletoe upon a dead tree. I fear however it is a traitor, because it has contracted so close a fraternity with the body, that it leaves me at every turn to follow the call of that. I flatter it, and deal with it apart, but in vain. I try, to no purpose, to break the connection, by laying Seneca and Catullus before it, and the representation of court ladies and royal masks. If its companion has the cholick, the mind seems also to be afflicted with it. Even the faculties

* Hor. lib. iv. ode 12. v. 27.
eleg. 5. v. 18.

† Ovid. de Ponto, lib. i.
‡ Ovid. trist. l. 3. eleg. 11. v. 22.

ties that are peculiarly and properly its own, cannot then lift themselves up, but plainly find themselves cramped. There is no sprightliness in its productions, if there be none at the same time in the body.

Our teachers are in the wrong who, while they are in quest of the causes of the extraordinary transports of the mind, attribute it to a divine extasy, to love, to a martial fierceness, poetry and wine, have denied the share of it due to health. A boiling, vigorous, full, and idle state of health, such as formerly the verdure of youth and indolence furnished me withal by fits; that fire of gaiety raises lively clear flashes in the mind beyond our natural light, and are accompanied with the most fantastical, if not the most desperate enthusiasm. Now it is no wonder if a contrary state of the body sink and clog my spirits, and produce a contrary effect.

Ad nullum consurgit opus cum corpore languet *:

The man whose body languishing doth lye,
Cannot to any work himself apply.

And yet would have me obliged to it, as it pretends, for my opposing this agreement much more than is common with mankind to do; at least, while we have a truce, let us banish difficulties and mischiefs from our commerce.

† *Dum licet, obductâ solvatur fronte senectus* †.

Let even the wrinkles of old age be smooth'd.

'§ *Tetrica sunt amœnanda jocularibus,*' i. e. Sour chagrin must be sweetened with jocularity. I like wisdom that is gay and courteous, and fly from all crabbedness and austerity, having a suspicion of every grim countenance. 'Trislemque vultus tetrici arrogantiam.'

Et habet tristis quoque turba cinædos ‖.

Under a dismal countenance oft lurks a vicious heart.

I am sincerely of Plato's opinion, who says, that good or ill tempers are a great indication of the goodness or badness of the heart. Socrates had one settled countenance, but it was serene and smiling; not a settled gloominess, like that of old Crassus, who was never seen to laugh. Virtue is a quality pleasant and gay.

I know

* Corn. Gall. Eleg. 2. v. 125. † In the original it is *Et decet.* ‡ Hor. Epod. § Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. i. ep. 9. Heronio, towards the end. ‖ Mart. lib. vii. v. 9.

I know very well that few will quarrel with the freedom of my writings, who have not more reason to quarrel with the freedom of their own thoughts. It is very humorous to play the severe critic on the writings of Plato, and to pass slightly over his pretended connections with Phædo, Dion, Stella, and Archeanassa. 'Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire,' i. e. Let no man be ashamed to speak what he is not ashamed to think. I hate a froward pensive temper, which skims over the pleasures of life, and seizes and feeds upon its misfortunes, like the flies that cannot stick to a body that is well polished and sleek, but fasten and settle upon such as are rough and knotty; and like to the cupping-glasses that only suck and draw the bad blood.

As for the rest, I have made it a rule to myself to dare to say all that I dare to do, and I am even displeased at thoughts that will not bear the light. The worst of my actions and qualities do not appear to me so foul, as I find it foul and base not to dare to own them. Every one is discreet in the confession, and men ought to be so in the action. The boldness of doing ill is in some measure recompenced and restrained by the boldness of confessing it. Whoever will oblige himself to tell the whole, should oblige himself to do nothing that he must be forced to conceal. God grant that this excessive liberty I take, may draw men to a freedom superior to those sneaking squeamish virtues, that are sprung from our imperfections; and that they may be brought to the standard of reason at the expence of my intemperance. A man must see and study his vice in order to reveal it: They who conceal it from others, commonly conceal it from themselves, and do not think they commit sin secretly enough, if they themselves see it. They withdraw and disguise it from their own consciences. 'Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est: Somnium narrare vigilantis est *,' i. e. Why does no man confess his vices? Because he yet continues in them: It is for a man who is awake to tell his dream. The diseases of the body are the better known by being increased. We find that to be the gout, which we called a rheum, or a strain. The distempers of the soul, the stronger

* Seneca, epist. 53.

stronger they are, keep themselves the more obscure; and the most diseased have the least feeling of them. Therefore we must often bring them to the light with an unrelenting hand, and open and tear them from the bottom of our hearts. As in doing good, so in doing evil, the mere confession of it is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformity in doing amiss that can excuse us from confessing it? It is so great a pain to me to dissemble, that I avoid being trusted with another person's secrets, for I have not the courage to disavow my knowledge of them. I can conceal it, but deny it I cannot, without great pains and vexation. To be very secret, a man must be so by nature, not by obligation. It is of little worth, in the service of a prince, to be secret, if a man be not also a liar. If he, who asked Thales, the Milesian, whether he ought solemnly to deny that he had committed uncleanness, had applied himself to me, I should have told him that he ought not; for I take lying to be a worse crime than the other. Thales advised him to the quite contrary, bidding him swear*, in order to shield the greater crime by the less: Nevertheless this counsel was not so much a choice, as a multiplication of vice; upon which let us say this, by the by, that we deal well with a conscientious man, when we propose to him some difficulty to counterballance a vice; but when we shut him up betwixt two vices he is put to a hard choice, as was the case of Origen, when it was put to his choice, either to turn idolater,

* Here Montaigne makes Thales say the very contrary to what he really said; and this by mistaking the sense of Diogenes Laertius, the author, whom he must have consulted for the answer, 'A man,' says Diogenes, 'who had committed adultery, having asked Thales, whether he might not deny it upon oath.' Thales made answer, 'But is not perjury even a worse crime than adultery?' See Diogenes's life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 36. Perhaps Montaigne was deceived by some edition of this author, where the note of interrogation was omitted after the last word, which indeed is an omission that I find in Henry Wetstein's edition, which, excepting that, is very correct. But I am more inclined to think that Montaigne's memory, 'so wonderfully apt to fail him,' as he himself confesses, has here played him a scurvy trick; for whatever construction he put upon the words of Diogenes Laertius, it cannot be thence inferred that Thales advised the man to take an oath for the sake of shielding the greater evil by the less.

ter, or to suffer himself to be carnally abused by a great Æthiopian slave that was brought to him. He submitted to the first condition, and, as it is said, vitiously. Yet those women of our time, who protest that they had rather burden their consciences with ten men than one mass, would be allowed to be women of taste considering their error. If it be an indiscretion so to publish errors, there's no great danger of its being made a precedent and practice. For Aristotle said that the winds, which men most feared, were those that expose them. We must tuck up this ridiculous rag, which hides our manners. They send their consciences to the stews, and at the same time keep a starched countenance. They espouse the laws of ceremony, and there fix their duty; so that neither can injustice complain of incivility, nor malice of indiscretion. It is pity that every bad man is not also a fool; and that decency should be a cloak for his vice. Such plaisterings are only proper for a good substantial wall, which it is worth while to preserve and white-wash.

In complaisance to the Hugonots, who condemn our auricular private confession, I confess myself in public religiously and purely. As St. Augustin, Origen and Hippocrates, published the errors of their opinions, I also discover those of my manners. I am all agog to make myself known, and care not to how many, provided it be truly; or, to say better, I long for nothing, but I cannot bear to be taken for what I am not, by those who happen to know my name. He that does every thing for honour and glory, what does he think to gain by shewing himself to the public under a vizor, and by concealing what he really is from the knowledge of the people? Commend a crooked fellow for his fine stature, he has reason to take it for an affront. If you are a coward, and yet honoured for being a man of valour, is it you whom they mean? They take you for another person. I should be as fond of that man, who pleases himself with the compliments and congees that are made to him, as if he were the head of the company, when he is one of the meanest in the train. Archelaus, king of Macedonia, walking along the street, a person threw water on him, for which his attendants said he ought to punish him.

‘Nay

‘Nay but,’ said the king, ‘he did not throw the water upon me, but on the man he took me to be.’ Socrates said to one, who informed him that the people spoke ill of him, ‘Not at all,’ said he, ‘for there is nothing in me of what they say. As for my part, whoever should commend me for being a good pilot, or very modest, or very chaste, I should owe him no thanks. And in like manner, whoever should call me traitor, robber, or drunkard, I should be as little offended. They, who do not know themselves, may feed their vanity with false applause; but not I, who see myself, and look into the very bottom of my heart, and very well know what belongs to me. I am content to be less commended, provided I am better known. I might be reckoned a wise man, in such a sort of wisdom as I take to be folly. I am chagrined that my essays serve the ladies only as a common moveable, or furniture for the hall. This chapter will advance me to the closet. I love a little private conversation with them, for that which is public, is without favour and without disfavour. In farewells we are warmed with a more than ordinary affection for the things we take leave of. I take my final leave of this world’s joys. These are our last embraces.

But, to come to my subject: what is the reason that the act of generation, an action so natural, so necessary, and so justly the mens prerogative, what has it done that people dare not speak of it without a blush, and that it should be excluded from all serious and regular discourse? We boldly pronounce the words, kill, rob, betray, but the other we dare not mention so as to be heard. Does it mean that the less we exhale of the fact in speech, we have the more authority to swell it in thought? For it is happy that the words which are least spoken or written, and most kept in, are the best understood, and the most generally known. Every age, all ranks, know them as well as they do bread. They are imprinted in every one, without being expressed, and without voice and form. And the sex that is bound to say least of it, does it most. It is an action which we have lodged in the sanctuary of silence, out of which it is a crime to force it, instead of accusing and judging it; neither dare we to lash it, but by periphrasis, and in picture. A great

favour to a criminal, to be so detestable, that justice reckons it unjust to touch and see him, and to be obliged to the severity of his condemnation for his liberty and security. Is it not the case here as it is with books, which sell and spread the more for being suppressed? For my part I am ready to take Aristotle at his word, who says that bashfulness is an ornament to youth, but a reproach to old age. These verses are the doctrine of the old school, to which I adhere much rather than to the modern, as its virtues appear to me greater, and its vices less.

* *Ceux qui par trop fuyant Venus estrirent
Faillant autant que ceux qui trop la suivent.*
They err as much, who Venus too much shun,
As they who to her altars always run.
*Tu Dea, tu rerum Naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, nec amabile quicquam †.*
Thou Deity, by whom all nature's sway'd,
Without whose power nothing can spring to light,
Or beautiful, or lovely to the sight.

I cannot imagine who could set Pallas and the Muses at variance with Venus, and make them cold towards love, for I know no deities that tally better; or are more indebted to one another. He who will not own that the Muses have amorous imaginations, will rob them of the best entertainment they have, and of the noblest subject of their composition; and whoever shall deprive love of the communication and service of poetry, will disarm it of its best weapons. By this means they charge Pallas, the God of familiarity and benevolence, and the Muses, who are the tutelar deities of humanity and justice, with the vice of ingratitude and disrespect. I have not been so long cashiered from the suit and service of that deity, but my memory still retains its strength and power.

Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ †.
Of my old flame there yet remain some sparks.
Nec mihi deficiat calor hic hyemantibus annis.
I have some heat left in my winter age,

Qual

* Verses in Amyot's translation of Plutarch, c. 5.

† Lucret. lib. i. v. 22.

† Virg. *Æneid*. lib. iv. v. 23.

*Qual l'alto Egeo, perche Aquilone o Noto
Cessi, che tutto prima il volse e scosse,
Non s'acchetta ei però, ma'l sono e'l moto
Ritien de l'onde anco agitate e grosse **

As Ægean seas, when storms are calm'd again
That roll'd their tumbling waves with roaring blasts,
Do yet of tempests past some shews retain,
And here and there their foaming billows cast.

But, as far as I understand of the matter, the abilities
and valour of this God are more lively and animated,
by the painting of poetry, than in their own essence.

Et versus digitos habet †.

And there's harmony in verse to charm a Venus.

Poetry represents a kind of air more amorous than love
itself. Venus is not so beautiful, stark-naked, alive and
panting, as she is here in Virgil.

*Dixerat, et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
Cunctantem amplexu molli fovet: Ille repente
Accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
Intravit calor, et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
Non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos,
—————ea verba loquutus,*

*Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petiit
Conjugis infusus gremio per membra soporem †.*
She said, and round him threw her snow white arms,
And warm'd him, wav'ring, with a soft embrace.
He quickly felt the wonted flame, which pierc'd
Swift to his marrow thro' his melting bones;
As when in thunder, launch'd along the sky,
A streak of fire runs streaming thro' the clouds

* * * * *

————— This having said,
After the wish'd embrace, he sunk to rest,
Softly reclin'd, on his fair consort's breast.

All the fault I find in these lines, is, that he has repre-
sented her a little too much in rapture for a married
Venus. In this discreet partnership the appetites are not
usually so wanton, but more grave and dull. Love hates
that its votaries should be swayed by any motive foreign

* Tasso's Gierusalem liber. Canto 12, Stanza 63. † Juv.
sat. 6. v. 197. † Æneid, lib. viii. v. 387, 392, 404, 405, 406.

to itself, and is but cool in such familiarities as are formed and maintained under any other title, as marriage is, wherein it is reasonable to think that kindred and the dowry should have as much, or more weight than comeliness and beauty. Men, say what they will, do not marry for themselves; they marry as much, or more, for the sake of posterity and their families. The interest and usefulness of marriage concerns our descendants far beyond our time; and therefore I like the way of negotiating it by a third hand, and by the judgment of others, rather than by that of the parties that are to be married: And how opposite is all this to the conventions of love! And it is a kind of incest, as I think I have said elsewhere, to exert the efforts and extravagancies of an amorous licentiousness in that venerable, and sacred alliance. A man, says Aristotle, should accost his wife with prudence and modesty, for fear lest, by dealing with her too wantonly, the pleasure should make her exceed the bounds of reason. What he says with regard to conscience, the physicians say with regard to health, that a pleasure excessively hot, lascivious and frequent, corrupts the seed, and hinders conception. But it is said, on the contrary, that to supply a languishing congress, as that is naturally, with a due and prolific heat, a man should offer at it but seldom, and at notable intervals.

* *Quò rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat* †.

I see no marriages that sooner miscarry, or are disturbed, than those which are spurred on by beauty and amorous desires. The foundations should be more solid and constant, and they should be proceeded in with circumspection. This furious ardour in them is good for nothing.

They, who think to do honour to the married state, by joining love to it, are methinks like those who, in favour of virtue, hold that nobility is nothing else but virtue. They are, indeed, somewhat a-kin, but they differ very much; and therefore to confound their names and titles is doing wrong to both. Nobility is a fine quality, and with reason introduced; but, forasmuch as it is a quality

* Montaigne has explained this verse enough before he quoted it.

† Virg. *Geor.* lib. iii. v. 137.

tity dependent on another, and which may fall to a man who is vicious and good for nothing, it is far below virtue in estimation. If it be virtue, it is a virtue that is artificial and apparent, depending on time and chance, differing in form according to the various countries, living and mortal, without any source more than the river Nile, genealogical and common, of succession and semblance, drawn by a consequence that is a very weak one. Knowledge, power, bounty, beauty, riches, and all other qualities, fall into communication and commerce; but this is consummated in itself, and of no use to the service of another. There was proposed to one of our kings the choice of two competitors for a certain office, of whom the one was a gentleman, and the other was not. The king ordered that, without respect to quality, they should chuse him who had the most merit; but that when the worth of the competitors should appear to be intirely equal, then they should have respect to nobility. This was justly to give it its due rank. A young man unknown coming to Antigonus, to solicit that he might succeed to the post of his deceased father, a person of worth; he said to him, 'In such preferments as these, my friend, I do not so much regard the noble extraction of my soldiers as their prowess *.' And indeed it ought not to fare with soldiers as it did with the king of Sparta's officers, trumpets, minstrels, cooks, &c. who were succeeded in their offices by their children, how ignorant soever, in preference to those who had more experience in the business.

The people of Calicut exalt their nobility above the human species. They are prohibited marriage, and every employment, but what is military. They may have as many concubines as they desire, and the women as many cock-bawds, without being jealous of one another: But it is a capital, and unpardonable crime to couple with a person of a meaner condition than themselves: Nay, they think themselves polluted if they are but touched by one passing along; and, as if their nobility was strangely injured and wounded by it, they kill such as do but come a little too near them; insomuch that those who are not noble are obliged to call out as

* Plutarch of false modesty, c. 10.

they go, like the Gondoliers of Venice, at the turnings of streets, for fear of running foul of one another; and the nobility command them to step aside to what part they please. By this means the nobility avoid what they reckon a perpetual ignominy, and the others certain death. No length of time, no favour of the prince, no office, or virtue, or riches, can make a plebeian become noble; to which this custom contributes, that marriages are prohibited betwixt families of different trades, insomuch that one descended from a shoemaker may not marry a carpenter; and the parents are obliged to train up their children exactly to the father's business, and to no other; by which means the distinction and continuation of their fortune is kept up.

A good marriage, if there be such, rejects the company and conditions of love: It endeavours to display those of friendship. It is a sweet society of life, full of constancy, trust, and an infinite number of useful and solid offices, and mutual obligations. No woman that has a true taste of it, or

——— *Optato quam junxit lumine tæda* *.

who is married to her liking, would be willing to be in the stead of a mistress to her husband. If she be lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is then lodged much more honourably and securely. When his love is set upon, and importunate for another object, let any one but then ask him on which he had rather a disgrace should fall, on his wife or on his mistress, whose misfortune would trouble him most, and to which of them he wishes most grandeur? such questions admit of no doubt in a good marriage.

That we see so few good marriages is the greater token of their value; if well formed and adjusted, there is not a more beautiful scene of human society. We cannot do without it, and yet we are continually running it down. Just so it is in the cages, where the birds that are within are mad to get out, and those that are without would fain get in. Socrates, being asked whether it was most commodious, to take a wife or not, made answer, 'Let a man do which he will, he will repent of it †. It is a contract,

to

* Catull. de coma Berenices carm. 64. v. 79. † Diog. Laert. lib. ii. §. 33.

to which the common saying, ‘Homo homini, aut
‘Deus, aut Lupus,’ i. e. ‘Man to man is either
‘a god, or a devil,’ may very fitly be applied. There
must be a concurrence of a great many qualities to con-
stitute it. It is in this an age fitter for mean and vulgar
souls, which are not so much disturbed by delights, cu-
riosity, and idleness.

Such wild humours as mine, which hate all sorts of
connection and restraint, are not so proper for it.

*Et mihi dulce magis resolute vivere collo **

For liberty to me is far more sweet

Than all the pleasures of the nuptial sheet.

Might I have had my will, I would not have married
even wisdom itself, if she would have had me. But we
may say what we please; we are carried away by cus-
tom, and the common practice of life. Most of my ac-
tions are governed by example, not by choice: And yet
I did not comply with it properly; I was led and carri-
ed to it by strange occasions. For not only things that
are most inconvenient, but the most deformed, the most
vicious, and those to which we have the greatest aver-
sion, may become acceptable by certain conditions and
accidents: So vain is any human state. And really I
was persuaded to marriage, at a time when I was worse
prepared for it, and more averse to it than I am now,
that I have tried it. And as great a libertine as I am
taken to be, I have in truth observed the marriage-arti-
cles more strictly than I either promised or expected. It is
in vain to kick when a man is once fettered. A man
ought to use his liberty sparingly; but after he has sub-
mitted to the yoke, he must confine himself within the laws
of the common duty, at least endeavour it all he can.

They who enter into this contract with a view to be-
have in it with hatred and contempt, act unjustly, as
well as unhandsomely: And equally harsh and injurious is
that fine rule which I find passes from hand to hand
among the women, like a sacred oracle.

Sers ton mary comme ton maistre,

Et t'en garde comme d'un traistre.

Serve thy husband like a waiter,

But guard thyself as from a traitor.

Which

* Corn. Gall. eleg. 1. v. 9.

Which is as much as to say, behave to him with a constrained, inimical, and distrustful reverence, which is a stile of war and defiance. I am too mild for such rugged designs. To say the truth, I am not yet arrived to that perfection of cunning and complaisance, as to confound reason with injustice, and to ridicule every rule and order that does not agree with my appetite. Because I hate superstition I do not immediately run into irreligion. If a man does not always perform his duty, he ought at least always to love and acknowledge it. There's treachery in the marriage contract, if the affection of the parties be not mutual. We will now proceed.

Our poet represents a marriage full of harmony and good agreement, in which however there is not much fidelity. Did he mean to say that it is not impossible for a person to yield to the importunities of love, and yet reserve some duty towards marriage; and that it may be injured without being totally broken? A footman may happen to ride in his master's boots, and yet not hate him. Beauty, opportunity, and destiny; (for destiny has also a hand in it)

———*fatum est in partibus illis*

*Quas sinus abscondit: Nam si tibi sidera cessent
Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi **

Fate, which the whole world rules, exerts its spire,
Ev'n in the parts conceal'd from common sight:
And if the stars to favour you should fail,
Your furniture of lust will not avail.

may have attached her to a stranger; yet not so intirely perhaps but she may have some link of love that still holds her to her husband. They are two designs, which have distinct paths without being confounded. A woman may yield to a man, whom she would by no means chuse to marry; I do not say from a dislike to his circumstances, but even to his person. Few men have made a wife of a mistress, but they have repented it: And, even in the other world, what an unhappy life does Jupiter lead with his, whom he at first intrigued with, and enjoyed as a mistress? This is what they call disgracing, or undervaluing a thing, in order the sooner

to

to obtain it. I have, in my time, known an instance where love has been shamefully and dishonestly cured by marriage. The considerations are too widely different. We love two things, which are not only different, but contrary, without any impediment. Isocrates said, that the city of Athens was liked just in the same manner as the ladies of pleasure are. Every body loved to take a turn thither, and to pass away his time, but no body liked it so well as to be wedded to it; that is to say, to settle there, and make it his home. I have been vexed to see husbands hate their wives, only because they do them wrong. We should not however love them the less for our own faults; they should at least, upon the score of repentance and compassion, be dearer to us.

They are ends that are different, and yet somewhat compatible. Marriage has for its share, profit, justice, honour, and constancy: a flat, but more universal pleasure. Love is founded on pleasure only, and has it in truth more ticklish, lively, and acute; a pleasure inflamed by the difficulty of attaining it. There must needs be a sting and smart in it. It is no longer love if it be without darts and fire. The bounty of the ladies is too profuse in the married state, and blunts the point of affection and desire: To escape which inconvenience, do but see what pains Lycurgus and Plato take in their laws.

The women are not at all to blame, when they refuse the rules of life that are introduced into the world, soasmuch as they were made by the men, without their consent. There is naturally a contention and brawling betwixt them and us. The strictest agreement we have with them is even mixed with tumult and tempest. In the opinion of our author we deal inconsiderately with them in this. After we have discovered that they are, without comparison, more capable and ardent in the feats of love than we are, and that the priest of old testified as much, who had been one while a man, and then a woman.

*Venus huic erat utraque nota *.*

Tiresias had both sexes try'd.

And moreover, after we have learnt from their own mouths

* Ovid, Metam. lib. iii. fab. 3. v. 23.

mouths the proof that was given of the truth of this by an emperor and an empress of Rome, who lived at different times, and were both famous for their superior achievements upon this occasion; he for deflowering in one night ten Sarmatian virgins, that were his captives; and she for having really had twenty-five bouts in one night, changing her man according to her necessity and her fancy.

— *adbuç ardens rigidæ tentigine vulvæ,
Et lassata viris, nondum satiata recessit* *.

Still burning with the rage of furious lust,

Tir'd with enjoyment but unquench'd her thirst.

And, considering the quarrel that happened once in Catalonia betwixt a man and his wife, wherein the latter complaining of his too frequent addresses to her (not that I think so many made her uneasy, (for I believe no miracles except religious ones) as, under that pretext, to curtail and curb in this, which is the very fundamental act of marriage, the authority of the husbands over their wives, and to shew that their frowardness and ill-nature go beyond the nuptial bed, and spurn under foot the very charms and pleasures of Venus) the husband made answer, like an unnatural brute as he was, that on fast-days he could not content himself with less than ten courses: And upon this came out a remarkable decree of the queen of Arragon; by which, after the mature deliberation of council, this good queen, to give a rule and example to all future times of the moderation and modesty required in lawful marriage, appointed the number of six in any one day to be a legal and necessary stint; releasing and quitting very much of the necessity and desire of her sex, for the sake, she said, of establishing an easy, and consequently a permanent and unchangeable form; whereupon the doctors cry out, What the devil must be the female appetite and concupiscence, since their reason, their reformation, and their virtue are taxed at such a rate, considering the different judgment of our appetites? For Solon, the patron of the law-school †, only taxed us at three times a month, that this conjugal commerce might not fail. After having, I say, both
believed

* Juv. sat. 6. v. 135. † Plutarch in his treatise, intituled, *Ἐρωτικὸς*, of love, p. 769. tom. 2. the Paris edition in 1624.

believed and preached this, we go so far as to injoin them continency for their peculiar portion, and upon the extremest and most rigorous penalties.

Though there is no passion more hard to contend with than this, we require the women alone should resist it; not barely as a vice, but as an execrable abomination, worse than irreligion, or a parricide; and yet we fall into it without blame and reproach. Even those of us, who have endeavoured to master this passion, have acknowledged how difficult, or rather impossible it is to subdue, weaken, and cool the body by the use of material remedies. We, on the contrary, desire constitutions that are sound, vigorous, in good plight, well fed, and chaste withal, that is both hot and cold; for marriage, which we say was injoined us to hinder them from burning, is little refreshment to them according to our behaviour. If the women take a man, the vigour of whose age is still boiling, he will be proud of spreading it elsewhere.

Sit tandem pudor aut eamus in jus

Multis mentula millibus redempta,

*Non est hæc tua, Bassæ, vendidisti *.*

Bassus! for shame at length give over,

Or I to justice must my cause resign;

The goods with which you play the rover,

Were dearly bought, and are no longer thine.

The philosopher Polemon † was justly prosecuted by his wife for sowing in a barren field the seed that was due to a fruitful one. If, on the other hand, they chuse decayed men, they will be in a worse condition in marriage than maids and widows. We think them well provided because they have a man always with them; just as the Romans thought Clodia Læta, a Vestal virgin, to have been violated because Caligula approached her, though it was affirmed that he did no more than approach her. But, on the contrary, we, by this, add to their necessity, so far as the contest and company of any man whatsoever rouses their desire, which, in solitude, would be more quiet. And it is likely that it was in order to render their chastity the more meritorious by this

* Martial. lib. xii. epig. 99. v. 10. † Diog. Laert. in the life of Polemon, lib. iii. sect. 17.

this circumstance and consideration, that Bolefflaus and his wife Kinge, the sovereigns of Poland, united in a vow of chastity, when in bed together on their very wedding night, and kept it in spite of the delights of matrimony.

We train them up from their childhood to the negotiations of love. Their beauty, their dress, their knowledge, their speech, and their whole instruction tend only to this point. Their governesses imprint nothing in them but the idea of love, if it were only by continually representing it to them, to give them a disgust to it. My daughter, (the only child I have) is now of an age, wherein forward young women are permitted by the laws to marry. She is of a puny, tender, and delicate constitution, and has been also brought up by her mother in a private particular manner, so that she is but now beginning to be weaned from her childish simplicity. She was one day in my presence reading a French book, wherein the word Fouteau * occurred, which is the name of a tree well known, viz. the beech. The woman, to whose conduct she is committed, stopped her short a little roughly, and made her skip over that dangerous term. I let her alone, rather than break into their rules, for I never concern myself in that sort of government. The polity of the females has a mysterious train which we must leave to them. But if I am not mistaken, a conversation with twenty lackeys for six months, would not so deeply have imprinted in her fancy the meaning, application, and all the consequences of the sound of those two wicked syllables, as this good old woman did by her reprimand and prohibition.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus

Jam nunc, et incestos amores

De tenero meditatur ungui †.

With pliant limbs the ripen'd maid,

Now joys to learn the wanton tread

Of dance Ionic, and to prove

The pleasures of forbidden love.

Let

* A word very similar in sound to a term of lechery in the French language.

† Horace, lib. iii. ode 6. v. 21. &c.

Let them but dispense a little with ceremony; let them but enter into the freedom of conversation; we are but children in this science compared to them. Were you to hear them set forth our courtship and compliments, they give you plainly to understand, that we bring them nothing which they did not know before, and had digested without our assistance. Would you think with Plato, that they were heretofore debauched when very young? I happened one day to be at a place, where I could, without being at all suspected, over-hear some of the discourse that passed betwixt them. What can I say of it? By'r lady, (said I) it is high time for us to go and study the phrases of Amadis, and the registers of Boccace and Aretine, to be able to cope with them. We employ our time to good purpose indeed. There is not an expression, an example, or proceeding, which they do not know better than our books. It is a discipline that has its source in their veins,

*Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit *.*

Venus herself did them inspire.

and which those good instructors, nature, youth and health, are continually suggesting to their fancy. They need not be at the pains to learn, they naturally breed it.

Nec tantum niveo gavisa est ulla columbo,

Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius,

Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro,

Quantum præcipue multicolora est mulier †.

Not more delighted is the milk-white dove;

(Or any creature that's more prone to love)

Still to be billing with her mate; than is

Th' inconstant woman ev'ry man to kiss.

Insomuch that did not fear and honour, of which they have their share, give a little check to this natural violence of their desire, we should become scandalous. All the motion in the world is bent and tends to this copulation; it is a matter infused throughout the whole; it is a centre to which all things point. We even find edicts of old and wise Rome made for the service of love, and precepts of Socrates for the instruction of courtezans.

* Virg. Geo. lib. iii. v. 267. † Catullus, carm. lxvi. v. 125.

Nec non libelli Stoici inter sericos

*Jacere pulvillos amant **

The Stoicks with all their gravity

Delighted to write on subjects of gallantry.

Zeno, amongst other laws, regulated the divarications and motions in getting a maiden-head. What was the signification of the philosopher Strato's book of carnal copulation? And of what did Theophrastus treat in those books which he intitled, one the Lover, the other Love? And what did Aristippus write of in his book of ancient delights? What is the purport of those copious and lively descriptions in Plato, of the amours of his time? and of Demetrius Phalareus's book called the Lover? And Clinias, or the ravished lover, by Heraclides Ponticus? And that of getting children, or of weddings, by Antisthenes, and the other of the master, or the Lover? and that of amorous exercises, by Aristo? The two books, one of Love, the other of the Art of Love, by Cleanthes? The amorous dialogues of Spherus? And the fable of Jupiter and Juno, by Chrysippus, impudent beyond all toleration? And his fifty lascivious epistles? I chuse to set aside the writings of the philosophers of the Epicurean sect, the protectors of sensual pleasures. There were fifty deities in time past assigned to this office: And there is a nation where, to assuage the concupiscence of those who went to their devotion, they kept strumpets in the temples for their enjoyment, and it was an act of ceremony to lie with them before the service. 'Nimirum propter continentiam, incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguitur,' i. e. Incontinence is necessary for the sake of continency, as a blast is to extinguish a fire.

In the greatest part of the world this member of our body has been defied. In one, and the same province, some flayed themselves for the sake of offering and consecrating a piece of their skin; others offered and consecrated their seed. In another province, the young men made public incisions betwixt the skin and the flesh of that part and made several overtures in it, through which they thrust splinters, the longest and biggest that they could endure; of which splinters they afterwards made

* Hor. epod. lib. ode viii. v. 45, 46.

made a fire for a burnt offering to their Gods, being not reckoned either over vigorous or chaste if they did but shrink under that cruel torture. Elsewhere, the most sacred magistrate was revered and recognized by those parts; and in several ceremonies the image of them was pompously carried in public procession to the honour of several divinities. The Egyptian ladies at the Bacchanalian feasts, wore one about their necks carved in wood, exquisitely formed, as large and heavy as each was able to bear; besides that in the statue of their God, there was a representation of one which measured more * than the rest of the body. The married women in my neighbourhood represent the shape of it in the kerchiefs upon their fore-top, by way of ostentation, for the enjoyment they have had of it, and when they come to be widows they turn it behind, and hide it under their coifs. The most sage matrons at Rome were proud of offering flowers and garlands to the God Priapus, and the virgins at the time of their wedding were seated upon his most criminal parts. Nay, I know not whether I have not in my time seen some such air of devotion. What was the meaning of that ridiculous cod-piece worn by our fore-fathers, and by the Swifs even to this day? To what purpose is the display we make at this time of the form of our implements under our gaskins; and often, which is worse, by a false and imposing representation beyond their natural size? I can scarce help thinking, that this sort of garb was invented in the better and more conscientious ages, that mankind might not be deceived, by every one's giving an account of his talent in public. The most simple nations wear them still with some resemblance to the truth. In those days the workman was informed, as he is now, of the measure of the arm or foot. That honest man, who when I was but a youngster, castrated so many fine antique statues in his great city, for fear of corrupting the sight, according to the opinion of that other honest old gentleman,

* Herodot. lib. iii. p. 122. Αἰδοῦναι ὅτι πολλὰ τέω ἔλασσαν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ σωματίῳ, i. e. A member which is not much less than the rest of the body. I cannot imagine why Montaigne took it into his head here to improve upon the extravagant exaggeration of the Egyptians.

* *Flagitii principium est udare inter cives corpora*; i. e. The custom of appearing naked in public, has introduced a depravity of manners amongst us, ought to have considered that, as in the mysteries of the Bona Dea, every masculine appearance was excluded; so it was doing nothing if he did not also cause horses, asses, and in short, all nature to be castrated.

*Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumque, ferarumque
Et genus equorum, pecudes, pictæque volucres,
In furias ignemque ruunt* †.

All creatures thus the force of love do find;
For whether they be those of human kind,
Beasts, wild or tame, fish, or the feather'd choir,
They're all inflam'd with wanton love's desire.

The Gods, says Plato, have furnished us men with an unruly tyrannical member; which, like a furious animal, attempts to make all things subject to its violent appetite: And they have also given the women one like a voracious and craving animal; which if nourishment be refused in its season, rages, impatient of delay; and its fury working in their bodies, stops the passages; hinders respiration, and causes a thousand disorders, till by having sucked in the fruit of the common thirst, the bottom of their matrix is plentifully sprinkled, and furnished with seed.

Now my legislator should also have considered, that peradventure, it were a chaster and more beneficial practice, to let them know it betimes to the life, than to permit them to guess what it is, according to the freedom and warmth of their imagination. Instead of the real parts, they therein substitute others that are three times more extravagant, thro' their desire and hopes. And a certain friend of mine was ruined by having exposed his, when it was not yet proper to apply them to their more serious use. Who knows what mischief is done by those enormous pictures which the boys draw upon the passages and stair-cases of the royal palaces? From hence proceeds a cruel contempt of our natural furniture. And how do we know but that Plato, by ordering,

* It was a saying of Ennius, quoted by Cicero, with this mark of approbation, '*Bene ergo Ennius flagitii*,' &c. *Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. c. 33.*

† *Virg. Geo. lib. iii. v. 144, &c.*

ing, after the example of other well instituted republics, that both the men, and the women, old and young, should expose themselves naked to one another in his gymnastics, had a view to this? The Indian women, who see the men stark-naked, have at least pallied their sense of seeing. And tho' it is said by the women of the great kingdom of Pegu, (who have nothing to cover them below the waist, but a cloth slit before, which is so scanty, that with all the ceremonious decency they pretend to, all they have is to be seen at every step) that this was an invention purely to allure the men to them, and to draw off their affection from those of their own sex, to which that nation is entirely addicted; it may be said that they lose more than they get by it, and that an appetite is not so sharp to an object after it has been once glutted by the sight of it. Also Livia said, that a virtuous woman, the sight of a naked man is no more than that of an image *. The Lacedæmonian women, more virgins when wives, than our daughters are, daily saw the young men of their city stripped naked at their exercises, while they themselves were not over careful to hide their thighs as they walked, thinking themselves sufficiently covered by their virtue without any sardingale. But they of whom St. Austin speaks, have ascribed to nakedness a wonderful power of temptation, by making it a doubt, whether women at the day of judgment shall rise again in their own sex, and not rather in ours, that we may not be again tempted in that state of holiness. In short, we allure and provoke them by all manner of means: We are incessantly heating and stirring up their imagination, and yet we find fault. Let us confess the truth; there is scarce a man of us who is not more afraid of the shame accruing to him from the vices of his wife, than those of his own; and who is not more solicitous for the conscience of his good wife (marvellous charity!) than for his own; who had not rather be guilty of theft and sacrilege, and that his wife should be a murderers and a heretic, than that she should be as immodest as her husband. An unjust estimate of vices this! Both we and they are liable to a thousand corruptions, more mis-

* *Διάλογος Τριβέλειος*, p. 112. Printed, at Paris, by Robert Stephens.

chievous and unnatural than lasciviousness. But we form and poise vices, not according to nature, but according to our interest; by which means they assume so many unequal forms.

The severity of our decrees renders the application of the women to this vice more violent and vicious than is consistent with the nature of it, and involves it in consequences worse than their cause. They would be glad to go to the courts of law for gain, and to the field of battle for honour, rather than, in the midst of ease and pleasure, to have to do with what is so difficult to preserve. Do not they see that there is neither merchant, nor lawyer, nor soldier, who does not quit his business for the pursuit of this; and the very porter and cobbler too, jaded and oppressed as they are with labour and hunger?

*Nunc tu quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,
Permutare velis crine Liciniæ,
Plenas aut Arabum domos?*

*Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem, aut facili sævitia negat,
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet *.*

Wouldst thou, for all that Achæmenes had,
Or all the Phrygian wealth before thee laid,
Or riches that in Arabs houses are,

Exchange one lock of dear Licinia's hair?
While to the fervent kiss her neck she plies,
Or with a pretty anger then denies
What she had rather you would snatch by far,
Than that you should desist out of despair.

I question whether the exploits of Cæsar and Alexander were performed with a resolution more inflexible than that of a beautiful young woman, bred up in high life, battered by so many examples of such a contrary kind, and yet preserving herself inviolate in the midst of a thousand continual and powerful solicitations. There is no action more difficult, and yet more vigorous than this not-doing. I take it that it is more easy for a person to wear a suit of armour all the days of one's life than a maidenhead:

* Horace, lib. ii. ode 12. v. 21, &c.

maidenhead: And the vow of virginity is of all others the most noble, as being the most burdensome. St. Jerom says 'Diaboli Virtus in Lumbis est.'

We have certainly resigned the most arduous, and the most vigorous of human endeavours to the ladies; and let them by all means have the honour of it. This ought to be a singular spur to excite them to hold it out obstinately. It is a fine subject for them to brave us, and to trample under foot that vain preheminance in valour and virtue, which we pretend to over them. They will find that if they do but keep a guard upon themselves, they will not only be the more esteemed, but the better beloved for it. A true gentleman does not abandon his pursuit because he has met with a denial, provided it be a denial from chastity, and not from choice. We may swear, threaten and complain, as much as we will; we lye all the while; for we love them the better for it. There is no allurements like modesty, if it be not with harsh treatment and sour looks. It is stupidity and meanness to be obstinate against hatred and contempt; but against a virtuous and steady resolution, accompanied with a grateful principle, it is the exercise of a noble and generous soul. The ladies may acknowledge our services to certain a degree, and give us civilly to understand that they do not disdain us; for the law which enjoins them to abhor us, because we adore them, and hate us because we love them, is certainly a cruel one, were it only for the difficulty of complying with it. Why will they not hear our offers and demands as long as they are circumscribed within the bounds of modesty? Wherefore should we guess that they have a freer meaning to themselves? A certain queen of our time said ingenuously, that to refuse these advances is a testimony of weakness in a woman, and an impeachment of her own readiness; and that no lady could boast of her chastity who had not been tempted. The limits of honour are not so straitened but it may relax itself a little, and may be dispensed with in some measure without a forfeiture. There lies before its frontiers some space free, indifferent, and neuter. He that has driven it by force into its own nook and fort, is a simpleton if he be not satisfied with his fortune. The value of the conquest is considered
by

by the difficulty of it. Would you know what impression your service, and your merit, have made upon her heart, measure it by her behaviour. There are some women perhaps who may grant more, that do not grant so much. The obligation of a benefit is altogether connected with the will of the person that grants it, the other circumstances co-incident with the favour, being dumb, dead, and casual. It costs her dearer to grant you that little, than it would her companion to grant her all. If in any thing rarity enhances the value of a thing, it ought in this. Do not consider how little it is that is given, but how few have it to give. The value of money alters according to the coin, and stamp of the place. Whatever the spite and indiscretion of some persons may make them say as to the excess of their discontentment, virtue and truth will always regain their advantage. I have known some who, after their reputation had for a long time been blasted, have regained the universal approbation of mankind merely by their constancy, without any care or art; after which every one repented, and recanted what he had believed; and from maids that were a little suspected, they have afterwards held the first rank among the ladies of honour. Somebody said to Plato, that all the world spoke ill of him, 'Let them say what they will,' said he, 'I will live so as to make them change their note.' Besides the fear of God, and the value of a renown so uncommon, which ought to incite them to take care of themselves, the corruption of this age compels them to it: And if I was in their place, there is nothing that I would not do, rather than trust my reputation in such dangerous hands. I remember formerly that the pleasure of telling (a pleasure little inferior to that of doing) was only indulged to be communicated to one intire faithful friend; whereas now, boasting of favours received, and of the secret liberality of the ladies, has a great share in the common table-talk, and conversation at assemblies. In truth it is an argument of too abject, and too mean a spirit, to suffer those tender and obliging favours to be so insolently persecuted, rummaged, and ransacked by persons so ungrateful, indiscreet, and inconstant.

This

This our immoderate and unwarrantable exasperation against this vice of incontinence, arises from the most trifling and tempestuous disease that afflicts the human mind, which is jealousy.

* *Quis vetat appposito lumen de lumine sumi?*

Dent licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit.

Tho' one torch to another torch

Daily should lend its light,

It nought wou'd lose by t'other's gain,

But as before burn bright.

That passion, and its sister envy, seem to be the most silly of all the tribe. As to the latter, I can say but little to it. It is a passion, though it is represented so strong and powerful, which, thanks to it, has no room in my breast. As to the former, I have some knowledge of it at least by sight. The very beasts feel it. Chratis, the shepherd, having fallen in love with a she-goat, the male, while the shepherd was asleep, went, in a fit of jealousy, and butted him with its head till it beat out his brains †.

We have carried this passion to as great an excess as some of the barbarous nations. The best disciplined of them have been tainted with it, and with reason, but not transported to fury by it.

Ense maritali nemo confossus adulter

Purpureo Stygias sanguine tinxit aquas †.

Ne'er did adulterer, by the husband slain,

With purple blood the Stygian waters stain.

Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, Antony, Cato, and other brave men, were cuckolds, and knew it without making any disturbance about it; and in those times there was but one fool, Lepidus, who broke his heart upon it §.

Ab

* The sense of the last verse is in Ovid's *Ars Amandi*, lib. iii. v. 93. but Montaigne has taken the words from an epigram, intitled, 'Priapus in veterum poetarum catalectis,' which begins thus:

Obscure poteram tibi dicere, da mihi quod tu

Des licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit.

† *Ælian.* lib. xii. c. 42. of his treatise of animals.

† *Ovid.*

§ The father of one of the triumvirate, who died, says Plutarch, having broke his heart, not so much by the distress of his affairs, as by a discovery he made from a letter which fell into his hands, that his wife had forfeited her honour. The life of Pompey, c. 5. of Amyot's translation.

*Ah tum te miserum malique fati,
Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent mugilesq; raphanique *.*

Wretched will then be thy malignant fate
When by the heels they drag thee from the gate,
Thro' show'rs of rotten roots and stinking scate.

And the God of our poet, when he surprized one of
her gallants with his wife, satisfied himself with only put-
ting them to shame.

— *atque aliquis de Diis non tristibus optat
Sic fieri turpes †.*

One of the Gods, to merriment dispos'd,
Seeing the lovers in the net inclos'd,

Wish'd that he had to shame been so expos'd.

And yet he takes fire at the soft caresses with which she
accosts him, complaining that she thereby shewed a jea-
lousy of his affection.

Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit

Quò tibi, Diva, mei †?

Why are, my goddess, all these reasons try'd?

Say why in me no longer you confide?

Nay, she desires armour of him for her bastard.

Arma rogo, genitrix Nato §.

The mother for her son does armour crave.

Which is freely granted; and Vulcan speaks honourably
of Æneas.

Arma acri facienda viro ||.

Armour must for a valiant man be made.

and, in truth, a more than common humanity. And I
consent to leave this excess of goodness to the Gods.

Nec divi homines componere æquum est ¶.

Nor is it fit to equal men with Gods.

As to the confounding of children, besides that the gra-
vest legislators ordain and affect it in their republics, it
does not concern the women, in whom this passion of
jealousy is, I know not how, still more firmly esta-
blish'd.

— *Sæpe*

* This was a punishment, more infamous than fatal, inflicted
on adulterers when they were taken in the fact. Catull. to Aure-
lius, Carm. 16. v. 17, &c. † Ovid's Met. lib. iv. fab. 5.

v. 21, 22. † Virg. Æneid. lib. viii. v. 395.

§ Ibid. v. 383.

¶ Virg. Æneid. lib. viii. v. 441.

¶ Catullus ad Mantium,

carm. 66. v. 141.

— *Sæpe etiam Juno maxima calicolum*

Conjugis in culpâ flagravît quotidianâ *.

And Juno, with fierce jealousy inflam'd,
Her husband's daily slips has often blam'd.

When jealousy seizes these poor weak souls, incapable of making resistance, it is shocking to see how cruelly it drags them on, and tyrannizes over them. It insinuates itself into them under the colour of friendship, but after it has once possessed them, the same causes which served for a foundation of good will, serve as a foundation of mortal hatred. Of all the distempers of the mind it is that which most things contribute to nourish, and fewest to remedy. The virtue, health, merit, the reputation of the husband, stimulate their spite and rage.

Nullæ sunt inimicitie nisi amoris acerbe †.

There are no enmities so bitter as those owing to love. This fever defaces and corrupts all that they have of the beautiful and good in other respects; and there's no action of a jealous woman, be she ever so chaste, and ever so good a housewife, that does not savour of sourness and impertinence. It is a furious agitation that throws them back to an extremity quite contrary to its cause. This was but too plainly verified by one ‡ Octavius at Rome, who, having lain with Pontia Posthumia, found his love so much increased by fruition that he solicited her with all importunity to marry him, which, finding he could not persuade her to §, his extreme love for her hurried him to actions of the most cruel and mortal hatred, so that in fact he killed her. In like manner the ordinary symptoms of this other distemper of love are intestine hatreds, private conspiracies, and combinations.

— *notumque, furens quid sæmina possit* ||.

What a woman is capable of doing in her fury is not unknown.

And a rage which preys upon itself the more, because it is forced to excuse itself by a pretence of good will.

Now the obligation of chastity is very extensive. Is it their will which we would have them to curb? This is a very pliant and active faculty, and is very prompt
to

* Catullus ad Mantium, carm. 66. v. 138, 139. † Propertius, lib. ii. eleg. 8. v. iii. ‡ Tacitus annals, lib. xiii. c. 44. calls him Octavius Sagitta. § Id. ibid. || Virg. Æneid. lib. v. v. 6.

to be stopped. How if dreams sometimes engage the women so far that they cannot deny them? It is not in the power of them, nor perhaps of chastity itself, because it is a female, to defend themselves from concupiscence and desire. If we are only interested in their will, what a case are we in then? Do but imagine what a great throng there would be of men to obtain the privilege of flying, like a feathered arrow, without eyes and tongue, to the arms of every woman that would accept them. The Scythian women caused the eyes of * all their slaves and prisoners of war to be plucked out, that they might make use of them with the more freedom and secrecy. Oh! the furious advantage of opportunity! Should any one ask me what was the first thing to be done in love, I should answer, that it was to know how to nick the happy moment; and the same as to the second, and the third things. It is the critical point that does every thing. Opportunity has often failed me, and sometimes I have miscarried in the attempt. May I never again have the mortifying circumstance to be laughed at. There is in this age more necessity for temerity, for which our youth plead their heat of blood as an excuse. But, were the women to examine the matter more strictly, they would find that it rather proceeded from contempt. I had a superstitious fear of giving offence, and have a hearty respect where I love. Besides, he who in this traffic takes away the reverence of it, defaces its lustre. I would in this affair have a man be a little childish, timorous and servile. If not altogether in this, I have in other things some airs of that foolish bashfulness which Plutarch speaks of, and the course of my life has been divers ways hurt and blemished by it; a quality very ill suiting my universal form. What is there also amongst us but sedition and discord? I can as ill brook to take a refusal as I can to give one: And

* Herodotus, l. 4. p. 255. does not say that the Scythian women had the eyes of their slaves plucked out for the purpose assigned by Montaigne, but that the Scythians themselves deprived all their slaves of sight for the purpose of drawing milk from their mares, which was their food. But it does not appear very plain that there was a necessity of blinding those poor slaves for this work; and therefore the reason which Montaigne assigns for it is much more easy to comprehend.

it so much troubles me to be troublesome to another person, that in cases where I am forced to try the good will of any one in a matter that is doubtful, and will be chargeable to him, I do it faintly, and against the grain. But if it be to serve myself (though Homer *Odyssey*, lib. xvii. v. 347. says very true, that 'Modesty is a foolish virtue in an indigent person) I commonly substitute a third person to blush in my stead, and have the like difficulty to deny those who employ me; so that it has sometimes befallen me to have had a mind to deny when the thing was not in my power. It is folly therefore to attempt to curb in women a desire that is so vehement in them, and so natural: And, when I hear some of them boast of having a will so innocent and cool, I laugh at them. They retire too far back. If she be an old toothless decrepid trot, or a young dry scrag, though they are not altogether to be believed, they may say it at least with more probability. But they, who are yet capable of love, and still pant with desire, spoil their own market; so much as indiscreet excuses tend to accuse them; like a gentlemen in my neighbourhood, suspected of impotency,

Languidior tenerâ cui pendens ficula betâ

*Nunquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam *.*

who, three or four days after he was married, in order to justify himself, swore point blank that he had rode twenty stages the night before; which oath was afterwards made use of to convince him of mere ignorance, and to dissolve the marriage. Besides, it is saying nothing to the purpose; for there is no continency nor virtue where there is no contrary effort. It is true it must be said, but I am not ready to comply. The saints themselves talk in this manner; I mean those who boast in good earnest of their coldness and insensibility, and who put on a serious countenance in order to be believed; for when it is spoken with an affected look, where the eyes give the lye to the tongue, and when they use the cant of their profession, which always goes against the hair, I like it well. I adore freedom and simplicity, but there is no remedy; if it be not altogether simple and childish, it is silly and unbecoming the ladies in this com-

* Catull. carm. 65. v. 21, 22. of Mattaire's edit.

merce, and immediately verges to impudence. Their disguises and their figures only serve to cozen fools. Lying is there in its seat of honour. It is a bye-way that leads us to the truth by a back-door. If we cannot curb their imaginations, what is it we would have them do? Do, indeed? There are ways enough by which chastity may be violated without any foreign communication.

*Illud sæpe facit quod sine teste fecit *.*

He often does himself apply

To that he does when none is by.

And they whom we least suspect are perhaps the most to be feared. Their crimes that make the least noise are the worst, or as we say, The still sow eats the most malt.

Offendor mæchâ simpliciore minus †.

A profess'd strumpet gives me less offence.

There are means capable of violating their chastity without immodesty, and, which is more, without their knowledge †. 'Obstetrix Virginis cujusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sive malevolentia, sive inscitia, sive casu, dum inspicit, perdidit.' Some have lost their maiden-head by a too curious search for it, and others by dallying with it have destroyed it. We cannot exactly circumscribe the actions which we forbid them. There is a necessity for couching our law under general and uncertain terms. The very idea which we form for their chastity is ridiculous; for among the extraordinary examples of it, which I have met with, are Fatua the wife of Faunus, who after her marriage, never suffered herself to be seen by any man whatsoever; and the wife of Hiero, who never knew that her husband had a stinking breath, because she imagined that it was a quality common to all men §. They must be insensible and invisible, or we cannot be easy.

But we confess that the best way to form a judgment of this duty is by an inspection into the will. There have

* Martial, lib. vii. ep. 61. v. 6. † Id. lib. vi. ep. 7.

‡ These words are a confirmation of what Montaigne has been saying, and though they are to be met with in St. Austin's treatise, de Civitate Dei, lib. i. c. 18. they are too gross to be put into plain English. § Plutarch in his remarkable passages of ancient kings.

have been husbands who have suffered this accident, not only without reproaching, or taking offence at their wives, but with special obligation to them, and a recommendation of their virtue. There was a woman that prized her honour above her life, who prostituted it to the furious lust of a mortal enemy to save her husband's life; and thereby did that for him, which she would by no means have done for herself. This is not a place to produce such instances; they are too sublime and too rich to be set to view by any light that I can throw upon them. Let us reserve them for a nobler place. But as to instances of a more common lustre, are there not women every day among us, who let themselves out to hire only for the benefit of their husbands, and by their express order and brokerage? Thus heretofore Phaulius of Argos, to gratify his ambition, offered his wife to king Philip, just as Galba did out of civility; who having invited Mecænas to supper, and finding that his wife and he made love signs by their mutual ogling, fell back on his couch, like a man greatly oppressed with sleepiness, to give opportunity to their amours *: And this he owned too with a very good grace; for at the same time, a servant presuming to meddle with the plates, &c. that were upon the table, he said to him very frankly; 'How now, you rascal? Don't you perceive that I only sleep to oblige Mecænas?' There are some licentious men, whose wills may be more reformed than those of others that behaved to outward appearance with more regularity. As we see some who complain of having made a vow of chastity before they came to years of discretion; I have also known others to complain truly of having as early devoted themselves to debauchery. The vice of parents, or the force of necessity, which is a rude counsellor, may be the cause of it. In the East-Indies, though chastity be of singular recommendation there, yet custom permitted a married woman to prostitute herself to any one that would present her with an elephant; and proud she was moreover, that she had such a value set on her. Phædon the philosopher, after the conquest of Elis his native country, made it his trade to prostitute the beauty of his youth, as long as it lasted,

* Plutarch in his treatise of love, p. 16.

for money to subsist him. And Solon, they say, was the first man in Greece, who by his laws gave liberty to the women, at the expence of their modesty, to provide for the necessaries of life, a custom, which Herodotus says, was received in many governments before his time. And besides, what is any one the better for such a painful solicitude? For be the passion of jealousy ever so just, we ought to consider whether it will turn out to our advantage. Does any man think, that with all his industry, he can put an effectual bar upon the women?

Pone seram, cohibe; sed quis custodiet ipsos

*Custodes? Cauta est, et ab illis incipit uxor *.*

Lock up your wife, or else, as some advise,

Set a strict watch; but who shall watch the spies? }

Them first she bribes and all your art defies. }

What conveniency can they be at a loss for in so knowing an age as the present?

Curiosity is vicious every where, but here it is also pernicious; it is a folly to be inquisitive into a disease, for which there is no medicine that does not enflame and make it worse; a disease which is made more shameful and more public by the means of jealousy; and the revenge of which wounds our issue more than it heals us. You wither and die in the search of so obscure a proof. How miserable have some of my time been made by having attained to the knowledge of it! If the informer does not apply a remedy and relief at the same time with the discovery, it is an injurious information, and he is more deserving of a stab than a downright liar. We laugh as much at him who takes pains to prevent his being a cuckold, as at him who is really such, and knows it not. The stamp of cuckoldom is so indelible, that he who once has it, always carries it to his grave. The punishment is more expressive of it than the crime. It is to a very fine purpose, to open the curtain and to lift up the quilt to discover our private misfortunes, and to trumpet them on tragic scaffolds, and such misfortunes too, as only sting us by being reported: For a wife is thought to be good, or a marriage happy, not as they are really so, but because the world is silent about them. A man must be discreet to avoid this tormenting and unprofitable

ble knowledge: And the Romans * when they returned from any journey, used to send notice before-hand of their coming, that their wives might not be surprized. To this purpose it is, that a certain nation introduced a custom, that the priest should, on the day of any marriage, unlock the bride's cabinet, to free the husband from the doubt and curiosity of examining by his first tryal, whether she comes a virgin to his bed, or has been violated before.

But the world will be talking. I know a hundred honest gentlemen that are not very much disgraced by being cuckolds. A gallant man is pitied for it, but not disesteemed. Order the matter so that your virtue may smother your misfortune, that good men may curse the occasion of it, and that he who wrongs you may tremble but to think of it. And in short, who escapes being talked of at the same rate, from the least even to the greatest?

† ———— *Tot qui legionibus imperitavit,
Et melior quam tu multis fuit, improbe, rebus †.*

To whom so many legions did bow,

And who (poor wretch) was better far than thou.

You see how many honest men are reproached with this in your presence, and you may be sure that you are not spared behind your back. Nay, the very ladies will be laughing too, and what are they more apt to banter in this virtuous age of ours, than a peaceable and most happy married couple? There's not a man among you, who has not made somebody a cuckold; for nature deals altogether in retaliation and variety. The frequency of this accident must have lessened the bitterness of it long ago, and it is now past into custom.

Miserable suffering this! which is also aggravated, because improper to be made known.

Fors etiam nostris invidet questibus aures §.

And fortune spitefully denies

To lend an ear unto our cries.

* Plutarch in his treatise of questions about the Roman affairs ch. ix. † The 1041st verse, of which Montaigne quotes the sense rather than the words, is here inserted before the v. 1039.

‡ Lucret. lib. iii v. 1039, 1041. § Catullus de nuptiis Pelei, Carm. 62. v. 170.

For to what friend dare you trust your complaints? Who, if he does not laugh at them, will not make use of the occasion as an introduction and instruction to come in for a share of the quarry. Wise folks keep the bitters as well as the sweets of matrimony secret: And among the other teasing articles that are to be met with in this state, to a talkative man as I am, this is the chief, that custom renders it indecent and injurious to communicate to another all that one knows and feels of it.

To give the women themselves any advice to disgust them against jealousy would be time lost; their very being is such a compound of suspicion, vanity, and curiosity, that there's no hope of curing them by lawful means. They often recover themselves out of this infirmity by a form of health, much more to be dreaded than the malady itself. For as there are enchantments which cannot remove the evil but by throwing it upon another, they are glad to transfer this fever to their husbands when they are rid of it themselves. Nevertheless, to say the truth, I do not know whether a man can suffer a worse thing from them than jealousy; it is the most dangerous of their qualities, as the head is of all the parts of their bodies. Pittacus said *, that 'every one had his vexation; that his was the bad head of his wife; but for which he should think himself perfectly happy.' This sure was a very sad inconvenience, with which a person so wise, just and valiant, found the whole course of his life poisoned! What then must we little men do? The senate of Marseilles might well grant the request of him who desired leave to kill himself, in order to be delivered from the clamour of his wife. For this is a mischief never removed but by carrying away the piece, and which there's no compounding for but by flight or patience; both of which are hard terms. I take it, that he was not a novice, who said, that happy was the marriage where the wife was blind, and the husband deaf.

Let us also consider, whether the great and violent severity of the obligation we lay upon them, does not produce two effects contrary to our end, viz. Whether it does not render the gallants more eager to attack, and the women

* Plutarch of the peace of the mind, ch. xi.

women more forward to surrender. For as to the first, by raising the value of the place, we rise the value and desire of the conquest. Who would not think that Venus herself cunningly enhanced the price of her merchandize, by making the laws her bawds, knowing how insipid that pleasure would be which was not heightened by fancy and its dearness? In short, it is all swine's flesh, only varied, as the host of Flaminius said, by different sauce. Cupid is a sly deity, who makes it his sport to contend with devotion and justice. It is his pride that his power gives a shock to every other power, and that all other rules yield to his.

*Materiam culpæ prosequiturque suæ **.

And seeks fresh fœwel for his fire.

And as to the second point, should not we be less cuckolded if we less feared to be so, considering the temper of women whose desires are prompted and excited by prohibition?

Ubi velis nolunt, ubi nolis volunt ultro †,

Concessa pudet ire via ‡.

You wou'd, they won't, when you wou'd not, they wou'd,

Consent does freeze, denial fires their blood.

What better construction can we put on the behaviour of Messalina? She at first cuckolded her husband in private, as is the common practice; but managing her affairs with too much ease, by reason of her husband's stupidity, she on a sudden scorned privacy, scrupled not to carry on her amours in public, owned her humble servants, and entertained and favoured them in sight of all the world. She aimed to make her husband sensible of it. But nothing of all this being able to rouse the animal, and rendering her pleasures languid and flat, by that stupid facility with which she seemed to authorize and make them lawful, what does she, but, being the wife of a healthy emperor §, living at Rome, the theatre of the world, in the face of the sun, and with public feasting and ceremony she married one day, as her husband was out of town, to Silius, whom she had enjoyed long before?

* Ovid. Trist. lib. iv. el. 1. v. 34. † Ter. Eunuch, act. 4. sect. 7. v. 43. ‡ Lucan. lib. ii. v. 445. § Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. c. 26, 27, &c.

before? Does it not seem as if she was going to become chaste thro' her husband's indifferency for her? Or that she desired another husband, who might sharpen her appetite by his jealousy, and by opposing it stir it up? But the first difficulty she met with was also the last. This beast roused on a sudden. These sleepy, sluggish mortals are often the most dangerous. I have known by experience, that this extreme patience, when it comes to be worn out, produces the most severe revenge; for by taking fire all on a sudden, anger and fury combined in one, exert all their efforts at the first discharge;

—*irarumque omnes effundit habenas* *.

he put her to death, and with her a great number of her correspondents; even one † who could not help it, and whom she had forced to her bed with scourges.

What Virgil said of Venus and Vulcan was more suitably expressed by Lucretius, of a stolen enjoyment betwixt her and Mars.

—*belli fera munera Mavors,*

Armipotens regit, in gremium qui sæpe tuum se

Rejicit, æterno devinctus vulnere amoris:

Atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta

Pascit amore avidos inbians in te, dea, visus

Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore:

Hunc tu, diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto

Circumfusa super, suavis ex ore loquelas

Funde †.

—for furious Mars,

The only governor and God of wars,

With thee enamoured doth oft resort

To taste the pleasure of the Paphian court;

Where, on thy bosom, he supinely lies,

Panting, and drinking love, at both his eyes;

Sucking thy balmy breath with eager kifs,

And rushing to enjoy yet greater blifs;

Then, while thy tender limbs about him move,

Involv'd and fetter'd in the clasps of love,

Thy charms in that transporting moment try,

And softest language to his heart apply.

When

* Virg. *Æneid*. lib. xii. v. 499. † Mnester, the comedian, and Traulus Montanus, Tacit. *Annal*. lib. xi. c. 36. † Lucret. lib. i. v. 33, &c.

When I consider these words *, ‘Rejicit, pascit, inhibet, pendet,’ and that word ‘circumfusa,’ from whence ‘infusus’ is nobly derived, I have a contempt for those little witticisms and verbal allusions which have started up since.

Those good poets stood in need of no smart subtle turn of phrase. Their language is copious, and full of a natural and constant spirit. It is altogether epigrammatical; with a sting not only in the tail, but in the head, stomach and feet. There is nothing forced in it, nothing drawling, and it ever keeps the same pace, without variation. ‘Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati †, i. e. The whole texture of it is manly, without the ornament of flowers. It is not an eloquence that is delicate, and inoffensive only: It is nervous and solid; and does not please only, but actually engrosses and captivates, and the finest understandings are the most charmed with it. When I see those sublime forms of expression so lively, so profound, I do not say it is well uttered, but well conceived. It is sprightliness of the imagination that gives pomp and sublimity to the language. ‘Pectus est quod disertum facit ‡, i. e. Eloquence is owing to the frame of the mind. Our people call language judgment, and fine words, full conceptions. This painting is not so much owing to the dexterity of hand, as to the lively impression of the object on the mind. Gallus’s language is simple, because his conception is simple. Horace is not content with a superficial expression; that would betray him; he sees into things farther and more clearly. His wit breaks into, and rummages the whole magazine of words and figures to represent his thoughts, and he must have terms to express himself, which are more than ordinary, because such is his conception. Plutarch says that he knew the Latin tongue by things §: So here, the sense illuminates

* All these words so natural and expressive; some of them the passage out of Virgil, mentioned in one of the preceding pages of this chapter, and the rest in the quotation here inserted.

† Seneca, Epist. 33. ‡ Quintilian, lib. x. § In the life of Demosthenes, c. 1. I began to take Latin authors in hand, says he, very late, being far advanced in the decline of life, when an odd thing happened to me, which is nevertheless

illuminates and produces the words, which are no longer words of air, but of flesh and bone. They signify more than they express. The Novices in a language have also some idea of this. For in Italy I said whatever I had a mind to in common discourse; but in serious subjects I did not dare to trust to an idiom, which I could not turn and wind out of its common path. I was for introducing something of my own.

The wits set off a language by their way of handling and managing it; not so much innovating it, as by putting it to more vigorous and various services, and straining and bending it to them. They do not introduce new terms into it, but they enrich those they have already, give them more weight, spirit, and energy; and add new turns, which are, however, authorized by the wise and ingenious application which they are not at a loss to make of them. This is the end which all should have in view, who are ambitious of the honour of writing well; and as for those who have not genius to attain to it, they ought to think of something else. And indeed how few have a sufficiency of this talent, is evident from the many French scriblers of this age. They are too bold and haughty to follow the common road; but the want of invention and discretion ruins them. There is nothing to be seen in their writings, but a wretched affectation of a strange novelty of stile, with cold and absurd disguises, which, instead of elevating the subject, depress it. Provided they can but trick up themselves with new-fangled terms, they care not what they avail; and, for the sake of bringing in a new word, though it be by head and shoulders, they leave out the common one, though often more nervous and significant.

I find stuff enough in our language, but there is some fault in the modelling of it; for there is nothing that might not be made out of our terms of hunting and war, which is a fruitful soil to borrow from: And the forms of speech, like herbs, improve and grow stronger by being

nevertheless true, viz. That I did not so much learn or understand things by the words, as I came to understand the words, in some degree, by the use and knowledge I had of the things thereby signified.

ing transplanted. I think the language copious enough, but not sufficiently pliable and vigorous. It commonly flags under a powerful conception. If you are upon the sublime, you often perceive it languishes and droops under you, and that then Latin steps into its relief, as Greek does to other languages. We do not easily discern the energy of some of those words which I have selected, because the common use of them has, in some measure, impaired their beauty, and rendered it vulgar; as is the case in our common talk, wherein there are excellent phrases and metaphors, the beauty of which is faded by their being antiquated, and their lustre sullied by too common handling. But this abates nothing of the relish to men of understanding, neither does it derogate from the glory of those ancient authors who, it is likely, first brought those words into that lustre.

The sciences treat of things with too much refinement, and in an artificial manner, very different from that which is common and natural. My page makes love, and understands it; but read to him Leo, the Hebrew, and Ficinus, where they treat of the lover, his thoughts and his actions, and he knows nothing at all of the matter. I discover in Aristotle most of my common impulses, which are there covered and cloathed in another robe for the use of the schools. Well may they speed; but were I of the profession, I would naturalize art as much as artify nature. Let us leave Bembo and Equicola where we found them.

When I write I care not for the company and the remembrance of books, lest they should break into my plan: And to say the truth, good authors too much debase and discourage me. I am very much of the mind of that painter who, having made a wretched figure of some cocks, charged his boys not to suffer any natural cock to come into his shop; and, in order to give myself a little lustre, had need rather of the invention of the musician Antimonydes, who, when he was to perform a piece of music, took care that that the auditory should either before, or after him, be entertained with some other sorry songsters. But I can hardly be without a Plutarch; he is so universal and copious, that upon all occasions, and whatever extravagant subject you pitch upon,

upon, he is officious to supply your necessity, and stretches out a liberal hand to you with an inexhaustible store of riches and embellishments. It vexes me that he is so liable to be plundered by those who are conversant with him. I can no sooner make an acquaintance with him but I purloin either a leg or a wing from him.

For this design of mine I find it also very proper to write at home, in a wild country, where nobody afflicts or relieves me, where I seldom see a man that understands the Latin of his Pater-noster, or, as little, if so much of the French. I might have performed better elsewhere, but then the work would not have been so much my own; its chief aim and perfection being to be exactly mine. I should be apt enough to correct some accidental errors, of which I am full, as I write on inadvertently; but as for my common and inconstant imperfections it would be a kind of treason to expunge them. When any one tells me, or I say to myself, 'Thou art too full of the figures; that is a word of 'Gascon growth; that is a 'dangerous phrase (I do not reject any that are used 'in the common streets of France; it is a mere jest to 'think of opposing custom with grammar) that is an ignorant discourse; a paradoxical sentence: that there 'is too silly; you often make yourself merry; it will 'be thought you say a thing in good earnest, which 'you only speak in jest.' Very true, say I; but I correct the errors of inadvertency, not those of custom. Do I not talk at the same rate throughout? Do not I represent myself to the life? It is enough I have done what I designed. Every body discovers me in my book, and my book in me.

Now I have an apish imitating quality. When I used to set about writing verses (though I never made any but Latin) they plainly discovered the poet I had read last; and some of my first essays have a taste that is a little exotic. At Paris I speak a language somewhat different from what I do at Montaigne. Whatever I look upon with attention easily leaves some impression of it upon me. Whatever I examine I make my own, whether a silly countenance, a disagreeable grimace, a ridiculous way of speaking; and vices most of all, forasmuch as they seize and stick to me, and will not leave their

their hold without shaking off. I swear oftner by imitation than humour. A cruel imitation like that of the apes, so terrible in stature and strength, which K. Alexander met with in a certain country of the Indies, and which it would have been difficult for him to have mastered any other way. But they afforded him the means, by this their inclination to counterfeit whatever they saw done *. For thereby the pursuers learnt to put on shoes in their sight, and to tie them fast with many knots, to muffle up their heads in caps altogether composed of running nooses, and to make as if they anointed their eyes with glew. Thus did those poor animals employ their mimicking humour indiscreetly to their own detriment. They glewed up their own eyes, hamstringed, and bound themselves. The other faculty of mimicking the words and gesture of another, purposely to raise mirth and admiration, is no more in my power than in that of a stock. When I swear in my own manner, it is only by God, which of all oaths is the most strict. † They say that Socrates swore by his dog; Zeno by that same interjection which is at this time in use among the Italians, viz. Cappari; and Pythagoras ‡ by water and air. I am so apt, without thinking of it, to receive these superficial impressions, that if I have had in my mouth Sire or Highness three days together, I repeat them a week after, instead of Excellency and Lordship; and what I say one day in sport and in jest, I shall repeat next day seriously. Therefore in writing I am fonder of trite arguments, lest I should handle them at another's expence. Every subject is equally fertile to me. A fly will serve me for a subject; and it is well if what I have now in hand, may not have been undertaken at the command of as rambling a will. Let me begin with that which I like best; for the subjects are all linked to one another.

* *Ælian de animal. lib. xvii. c. 25. and Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1013.*
 † *Ὡμνυε ὃ (φασὶ) καὶ καππαρεν καθάπερ Σωκράτης καὶ Κύνα*, Diogenes Laert. lib. vii. § 32. Capparis is the name of a shrub bearing capers. Others swore by a cabbage, as is the custom in France, even at this day; witness the word of Vertuchou, a kind of oath, which signifies by the virtue of cabbage; an expression which many people make use of every now and then. ‡ Diogenes Laert. in the life of Pythagoras, lib. viii. sect. 6.

But I am vexed that my deepest, and most ridiculous reveries, yet such as please me best, are produced on a sudden, and when I look for them the least; and that they as suddenly vanish, for want of something at that instant to apply them to; be it on horseback, at table, or in bed; though I am most given to think when I am riding.

My speech is a little nicely jealous of attention and silence if I am engaged in a discourse. Whoever then interrupts me puts me to a stand. In a journey the very necessities wanting on the road break off discourse; besides that I often travel without the company fit for such regular conversation; by which means I have all the leisure I would desire to entertain myself. It falls out to me as it does with my dreams. Whilst I am dreaming I recommend them to my memory (for I am apt to dream that I dream) but next day I may well enough call to mind what complexion they were of, whether gay or sad, or wild; but what they were as to the rest, the more I strive to recollect it, the deeper I plunge it in oblivion. So of thoughts that come accidentally into my head, I have no more than a vain image remaining in my memory; only enough to tease and vex me in a fruitless search after them.

Now therefore, laying books aside, and to speak more to the purpose and the truth, I find, after all, that love is nothing but the thirst of the enjoyment of it in a desired subject, and that Venus is nothing more than the pleasure of discharging the vessels; like the pleasure that nature gives us in the discharge of the other parts, which becomes vicious by being either immoderate or indiscreet. According to Socrates, love is the appetite of generation by the intervention of beauty. And, having often considered the ridiculous titillation of this pleasure, the absurd, hair-brained, and senseless motions with which it agitates Zeno and Cratippus, the indiscreet rage, the countenance inflamed with fury and cruelty, in the sweetest act of love; and then that sour, grave and ecstatic one in an action so wanton; that our delights and our excrements are promiscuously shuffled together, and that the highest pleasure is, like pain, attended with fainting and complaining. I think it true what
Plato

Plato says, that man was made by the Gods for their sport *.

——— (*quænam ista jocandi*

Sævitia ? †

What a strange sporting cruelty is this?

and that it is in derision that nature has ordered the most common of our actions to be the most troublesome; thereby to make us equal, and to parallel fools and wise men, beasts and us. When I imagine the most contemplative and prudent man, in this situation, I think he has consummate impudence to pretend to be prudent and contemplative. The pride of the peacock is mortified by its legs.

——— *ridentem dicere verum,*

Quid vetat ‡?

Why may not truth in laughing guise be drest?

They who in their sports banish serious thoughts are, says one, like the person who fears to adore the statue of a saint if it be stark naked. We eat and drink indeed as beasts do; but these are not actions that obstruct the functions of our soul. In those we maintain our advantage over them. This subjects every other thought to it; and, by its imperious authority, makes an ass of all Plato's divinity and philosophy, and yet there's no complaint of it. In every thing else you may preserve a sort of decorum: All other operations submit to the rules of honesty; this cannot so much as in imagination appear other than vicious or ridiculous. Examine if you can therein find a wise and discreet proceeding. Alexander said, that this performance and sleeping were the chief actions by which he knew himself to be mortal §. Sleep suffocates and suppresses the faculties of our soul: The exercise with the sex absorbs and dissipates them in like manner. Doubtless it is a mark not only of our original corruption, but also of our vanity and deformity.

Nature impels us to it on the one hand, by having attached to this desire the most noble, useful, and pleasant

E e 2

o

* Ἄνθρωπον Θεὸς τι παίσιον εἶναι, De Legibus, lib. vii. p. 889. † Claudian in Eutrop. lib. i. v. 24, 25. ‡ Hor. Sat. i. lib. i. v. 24, 25. § Plutarch in his tract of the means to distinguish the flatterer from the friend, c. 23.

of all her functions ; and, on the other hand, she leaves us to accuse and avoid it as a thing insolent and indecent, to blush at it, and to recommend abstinence. Are not we mere brutes to call that operation brutish which begets us ? People of various religions have concurred in several ceremonies, as sacrifices, lamps, burning incense, fastings, oblations, and among others in the condemnation of this action. All opinions centre in this, besides the antiquated practice of circumcision. We have perhaps cause to blame ourselves for contributing to so silly a production as man, if we call the act and the parts that are employed in it shameful ; as mine are properly so at this time. The Essenians, of whom Pliny speaks, kept up * their nation several ages, without nurses or cradles, by the arrival of foreigners, who, following this pretty humour, came among them continually ; a whole nation running the hazard of totally exterminating themselves, rather than engage themselves in female embraces, and rather to lose a succession of men than to beget one. They say that Zeno † never had to do with a woman but once in his whole life, and then out of civility that he might not be deemed a woman-hater. Every one shuns the sight of a birth ; every one runs to see an execution. To destroy, a spacious field is sought out, and that in the face of the sun ; but to beget, we creep into a dark and close a corner as we can. It is a man's duty to withdraw himself from the light to do it ; but it is his glory, and the fountain of many virtues, to be able to destroy it. The one is an injury, the other a favour ; for Aristotle said, that to do any one good was, according to a proverb in his country, to kill him. The Athenians, for the sake of paralleling the disgust of those two actions, being to cleanse the island of Delos, and to justify themselves to Apollo, prohibited all births and burials in the precincts thereof.

‘ Nostri

* ‘ Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter cæteras mira, sine ullâ
 ‘ Fœminâ, omni Venere abdicatâ.—In diem ex æquo convenarum
 ‘ turba renascitur, large frequentibus quos vitâ fessos ad mores eo-
 ‘ rum fortunæ fluctus agitat. Ita per sæculorum millia (incredi-
 ‘ bile dictu) gens æterna est, in quâ nemo nascitur.’ Nat. Epist. lib.
 y, c. 17. † Diog. Laert. in the life of Zeno, lib. vii. § 13.

* ‘*Nostri nosmet pœnitet,*’ i. e. We are ashamed of ourselves.

There are nations where the people do not love to be seen to eat. I know a lady, and of the greatest quality too, who thinks also that chewing gives a disagreeable air to the face, which takes off much of its grace and beauty: and therefore she does not care to appear in public with an appetite: And I know a man too who cannot bear to see another, or be seen himself to eat; and is more shy of company to see him in the act of repletion than that of evacuation.

In the Turkish empire there are a great many men who, aiming to be thought more excellent than others, never suffer themselves to be seen when they are at their meals, who make but one in a week, who cut and mangle their face and members, and never speak to any one: A frantic people, who think to honour their nature by being unnatural to it, who value themselves upon despising themselves, and become better by growing worse. What a monster is the animal that becomes horrible to himself; whose delights are his plagues, and who sticks to misfortune!

There are some who hide themselves as long as they live,

Exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant;

Atque alio patriam quærunt sub sole jacentem †.

Leaving their native seats, in exile run

To lands that lie beneath another sun.

and steal from the sight of other men; and avoid health and cheerfulness, as qualities that are prejudicial, and enemies to the human being. Not only many sects, but many people, curse their birth, and bless their death; and there is a place where the sun is abhorred, and darkness adored. We are only ingenious to use ourselves ill. In quest of this game we set out all our wit, which is a dangerous tool if it be used intemperately.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent! †

* Seneca tells his friend Lucilius, in his 115th epistle, that he would reap a very considerable advantage from philosophy, viz. that he would never be ashamed of himself; and it is not unlikely that this passage ran in Montaigne’s head, tho’ he employs it in a sense quite different.

† Virg. Geo. lib. ii. v. 511. † Cornel. Gall. eleg. 1. v. 188.

O wretched man, whose very joys are crimes!
 Alas! poor man! thou hast misfortunes enough that are unavoidable, without stretching thy invention to increase them; and art miserable enough by constitution, without being so by art; thou hast real and essential deformities enough, without forging such as are imaginary. Dost thou think thyself too easy in thy circumstances, if one half of thy enjoyments does not disquiet thee? Dost thou think that thou hast performed all the necessary offices to which thou art engaged by nature; and that she is idle in thee if thou dost not oblige thyself to new offices? Thou dost not scruple to offend her universal and undoubted laws, and art very tenacious of thy own favourite whimsies, which, the more particular, uncertain, and contradicted they are, the more pains thou dost take in their favour. Thou art attached to the positive laws of thy parish, but those of the world concern thee not. Run but a little over the examples of this kind; thy whole life is full of them.

The verses of those two poets, in treating so reservedly and discreetly as they do of lasciviousness, do, I think, discover it, and lay it fuller in view. The ladies cover their breasts with net-work, as the priests do several sacred things; and painters throw a shade over their works to give them the greater lustre: And the sun and wind are said to strike more violently by reflection than in a direct line. When the Egyptian was asked, What he carried, so secretly under his cloak; he gravely answered, 'Tis hid under my cloak *, to the end that thou mightest not know what it is. But there are some other things that are hid only on purpose to be shewn. Hear this man who speaks plainer;

Et nudam pressi corpus adusque meum †.

And in these naked arms of mine

Her naked body I did twine.

Methinks I am emasculated by this expression. If Martial turns up Venus' coats ever so high, he cannot shew her in such perfection. He who says all that might be said, surfeits and disgusts us. He who is afraid to speak out, inclines one to think more of the matter than there

13

* Plutarch of curiosity, c. 3.

† Ovid. de Amor. lib. i. eleg. 5. v. 24.

is in reality. There is a kind of treachery in this sort of modesty, and especially whilst they half open, as they do, so fair a path to imagination. And both the action and the description must shew they are stolen.

The love of the Spaniards and Italians the more respectful and timorous, the more coy and secret it is, the better it pleases me. I know not which of the ancients it was who wished his weason as long as the neck of a † crane, that he might be the longer in tasting what he swallowed. Such a wish would have been more proper in this pleasure, which is so quick and precipitant, especially in such natures as mine, which has the fault of being too sudden in its motion. To stop its flight, and delay it with preambles, a wink, a bow, a word, a sign, stand all for favour and recompence betwixt them. Would it not be excellent frugality in him that could dine on the steam of roast-meat?

It is a passion in which solidity has a very little share, but vanity and a feverish dotage much greater; and it must be recompenced and served in the same manner. We teach the ladies to value and esteem themselves, and to amuse and cheat us. We give the last discharge at the first onset. The French impetuosity always attends it. By spinning out their favours, and exposing them in small parcels, even wretched old age finds some share of them, according to a man's value and merit. He who has no fruition but in fruition, who wins nothing unless he sweep the stakes, who only loves the chase for the sake of the quarry, has no business to come to our school. The more steps and gradations there are, the uppermost seat is therefore the higher, and the more honourable. We should take a pleasure in being conducted to it, as is the way in magnificent palaces, by divers porticos and passages, long and pleasant galleries, and by many turnings and windings. This management would redound to our advantage. We should then stay longer and love longer. Without hope and without desire our progress is not worth a rush. Our conquest and intire possession is what they ought always to dread. When they surrender themselves up to the mercy of our fidelity and constancy, they run not a little hazard.

These

* See in Athenæus, lib. i. c. 6.

These are virtues rare and hard to attain to. They are no sooner ours but we are no more theirs :

— *postquam cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,
Verba nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant* *.

When our desires and lusts once sated are

For oaths and promises we nothing care.

And Thraſonides, a young man of Greece, was so fond of his amour, that, having gained his mistress's heart, he refused to enjoy her, that he might not by fruition consume, quench, and satiate that uneasy passion, of which he boasted, and with which he fed his fancy. The dearneſs of a diſh heightens the relish of it.

Do but observe how much the fashion of saluting, which is peculiar to our nation, does, by the facility of granting them, rob kisses of that charm which Socrates said is so powerful and dangerous for stealing our hearts. It is a disagreeable and offensive fashion for the ladies, that they must be obliged to lend their lips to every man that has three footmen to attend him ; be his person ever so disgusting.

† *Cujus livida naribus caninis
Dependet glacies, rigetque barba :*

* * * * *

Centum occurrere malo cunnilingis †.

Nor are we ourselves at all gainers by the bargain : for as the world is divided we are obliged to kiss fifty ugly faces for three beauties ; and to tender stomachs, like those of my age, a bad kiss is too dear a purchase for a good one.

In Italy they passionately court, and even fall into raptures of devotion to the very women who prostitute themselves for money ; and justify themselves in it by pleading that there are degrees of fruition, and that they pay them so much compliment with a desire of obtaining that fruition which is the most intire. The women only sell their bodies : Their wills are too free, and too much

* Catullus de nuptiis Pelei et Thetidis, Carm. 62. v. 147.

† Martial. lib. vii. Epig. 94. ‡ The Latin is the only language that is so licentious as to convey ideas so gross and nasty. Seneca says it is better to suppress some things in silence, tho' it be to the detriment of the cause, rather than to transgress the bounds of Modesty. Senec. Controvers. lib. i. Controv. 2. towards the end.

much their own to be put to sale. Therefore, say these gentlemen, it is the will they aim at; and so far they are in the right. It is the will that must be obliged and managed. I should abhor to think that mine was a body deprived of affection. And this madness is, methinks, a-kin to that of the * boy, who longed to ravish the beautiful image of Venus, which was carved by Praxiteles; or that of the furious Egyptian, who violated the dead corpse of a woman that he was embalming; which gave occasion to the law † made afterwards in Egypt, that the bodies of beautiful young women, and those of a good family, should be kept three days before they were put into the hands of those persons who had the charge of their interment. Periander acted more wonderfully, who extended his conjugal affection (more regular and legal) to the enjoyment of his wife Melissa after she was dead ‡. Does it not seem a lunatic humour in the moon, when she could no otherwise enjoy her darling Endymion, to lay him asleep for several months, and to please herself with the fruition of a boy, who stirred not but in a dream? I likewise say, that to love a body without its consent and without its desire, is to love a body without a soul. All enjoyments are not the same. There are some that are hestic and languishing. A thousand other causes, besides good will, may procure us this grant from the ladies. This is not a sufficient testimony of affection. Treachery may lurk there as well as elsewhere. They go to it sometimes but with half a mind.

Tantum thura merumque parent ||,

Absentem marmoreamve putes §.

So coldly they the sacrifice prepare,

You'd think they absent, or else marble are.

I know some ladies who had rather lend That than their coach, and who only impart themselves that way. You are to observe whether your company pleases them upon any other account, or only for that same, the endowment

* ' Venerem Praxiteles in marmore quasi spirantem in templo
' Gnidorum collocavit, propter pulchritudinem operis, a libidinoso
' cujusdam complexu parum tutam,' Valer. Max. lib. viii. c. 11.
in externis § 4. † Herodot. lib. ii. p. 136. ‡ Diog. Laertius
in the life of Periander, lib. i. § 96. || Mart. lib. xi. ep. 102.
v. 12. § Id. lib. xi. ep. 61. v. 8.

ment of some strong chined groom; and in what degree of favour you stand with them.

— *tibi si datur uni*

Quo lapide illa diem candidiore nolet *.

Whether thy mistress favour thee alone,

And mark thy day out with the whiter stone.

What if she sops the bread she eats of yours in the sauce of a more pleasing imagination?

Te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores †.

While in her arms intwin'd you don't discover

She pants with longing for an absent lover.

What? Have we not known a man in our own times who made this act subservient to a horrid piece of revenge, by that means to poison and kill an honest woman? They who know Italy will never think it strange, if I seek not elsewhere for instances of this kind. For that nation may be called the mistress of the world in this respect. They have generally finer women, and fewer ordinary ones than we; but for uncommon and excellent beauties I reckon that we are upon a par. I form the same judgment of the wits of the common class, of which it is plain that they have many more. Brutality is, without comparison, more uncommon there. As for singular genius's, and those of the first rate, we are not at all indebted to them. Were I to extend the comparison, I think I might say as to prowess, it is with us popular and natural, contrary to what it is with them; but we have seen it sometimes in their hands to a degree so full and vigorous, that it surpasses the most obstinate instances we have of it.

The marriages of that country are very unhappy upon this account: Their custom commonly imposes so harsh and slavish a law upon their wives, that the most remote acquaintance with a stranger is as great a crime with them as the closest; the consequence of which law is, that all approaches become necessarily substantial; and, since all comes to the same account, they have a very easy choice to make. And, when they have broke down those fences, depend on it they are all on fire. 'Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissâ,'

* Catull. ad Mallium, Carm. 69.

† Tibull. lib. i. el. 6. v. 35.

‘emissa,’ i. e. Lust, like a wild beast, being enraged by being bound breaks from its chain. It is necessary they should have a little more rein.

*Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua fræna tenacem
Oré reluctanti fulminis ire modo *.*

I saw, spite of his bit, a head-strong colt
Run with his rider like a thunder-bolt.

The desire of company is abated by giving it some liberty. It is a fine custom we have in our nation, that our children are admitted into good families there, to be entertained and bred up pages as in a school of nobility. And it is looked upon as an incivility and an affront to refuse a gentleman. I have taken notice (for so many families, so many different stiles and forms) that the ladies who have chose to subject the maids of their retinue to the most austere rules, have had no better luck than those who have allowed them greater liberty. There is a necessity for using moderation. Good part of their conduct should be left to their discretion; for when all comes to all, there is no discipline that can restrain them throughout. But it is very true, that she who comes off safe and sound from a school of liberty, is more to be trusted than she who comes away sound from a severe and cloystered education.

Our ancestors formed the countenances of their daughters to bashfulness and fear (their courage and desires being always alike) we ours to assurance. We understand nothing of the matter. This is the business of the Sarmatian ladies, who are not allowed to lie with a man till they have killed another in battle with their own hands. For me, who have no other demand upon them than that they would give me a hearing, it is sufficient if they retain me for council according to the privilege of my age. I advise them, therefore, as well as my own sex, to abstinence; but, if the times we live in will not admit of this, let them be at least discreet and modest. For as Aristippus † is reported to have said to certain young men, that blushed at seeing him go into a bawdy-house, The crime is not in going in, but in not coming out. Let her that has no care of her conscience have some regard

* Ovid. Amor. lib. iii. Eleg. 4. v. 13, 14.
in the life of Aristippus, lib. ii. § 69.

† Diog. Laert.

gard however for her character; and, though she be rotten within, let her carry a fair outside.

I commend a gradation and length of time in the bestowing of their favours. Plato shews that, in all sorts of love, facility and readiness are prohibited to the defendants. For the women to yield so intirely and rashly, without fear or wit, discovers a greedy appetite, which they ought, with all their art to conceal. By their orderly and regular deportment in their grant of their favours, they much more whet our desire, and hide their own. Let them always fly before us; I mean those who wish nevertheless to be overtaken. They conquer us the better by flight, like the Scythians. In truth, according to the law that nature has imposed on them, it is not properly their prerogative, either to will or desire; their part is to suffer, obey, and consent; for which nature has given them a perpetual capacity, which in us is uncommon and uncertain. They have always their call, to the end that they may be always read for ours. *Pati natæ* *, i. e. They are born to be passive: And whereas she has ordered that our appetites should be manifested by a prominent shew and declaration of it, she has caused theirs to be hidden and internal, and furnished them with parts improper for ostentation, and such as are merely defensive. Such proceedings as this that follows must be left to the Amazonian licence. Alexander, passing through Hyrcania, Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, met him with three hundred light-horse, of her own sex, finely mounted and well arm'd, having left the remainder of a great army that followed her, behind the neighbouring hills; and when she came into his presence, she spoke aloud to him, and said, ' That the fame of his victories
' and valour had brought her thither to see him, and to
' make him an offer of her forces to assist him in his en-
' terprizes; and that, finding him so handsome, young,
' and vigorous, she, who was also perfect in all those
' qualities †, advised him that they might lie together,

to

* These two words are taken out of Seneca, who, speaking of the women of his time, says, that the sex born of the passive Gender was as lustful as that of the active gender, *Epist.* 95.

† Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xvii. c. 16. But this historian does not say that this queen of the Amazons offered Alexander troops to aid

‘ to the end that, from the most valiant woman in the world, and the most valiant man then living, there might hereafter spring some great and wonderful issue.’ Alexander thanked her, and, to give time for the accomplishment of her demand, he stayed there thirteen days, which were spent with as much mirth as possible to welcome so heroic a princess.

We are, almost in every instance, unjust judges of their actions as they are of ours. I pay the same acknowledgment to the truth, when it makes against me, as when it is on my side? It is an abominable intemperance that prompts them so often to change, and that hinders them from limiting their affection to any one person whatsoever, as is evident in that goddess, to whom are attributed so many changes, and so many different paramours. But it is true withal, that it is contrary to the nature of love, if it be not violent, and contrary to the nature of violence, if it be constant. And they who make it a wonder, who exclaim against it, and make such an inquiry into the causes of this frailty of theirs, as if it were unnatural and incredible, how comes it that they do not perceive how often they are themselves guilty of the same without any astonishment or miracle at all? It would, perhaps, be more strange to see the passion fixed. It is not a passion merely corporeal. If there be no end in avarice and ambition, there is no end neither in carnal concupiscence. It exists even after satiety, and it is impossible to prescribe either lasting satisfaction, or end to it. It always longs for something unpossessed; and yet inconstancy is, perhaps, somewhat more pardonable in them than in us. They may plead, as well as we, the inclination to variety and novelty, which is common to both sexes; and secondly they might plead whether we will admit it or not, that they buy a pig in a poke. Joan, Queen of Naples *, caused Andreosso, her first husband,

VOL. III.

F f

husband,

aid him in his military expeditions: and Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. §. 5. says expressly, that Alexander having asked her if she would go to the wars with him, she excused herself by saying, that she had left nobody to be guardian of her kingdom; ‘Causata, sine custode regnum reliquisse.’

* Andrew, the son of Charles King of Hungary, and the husband of Joan I. Queen of Naples. The Italians called him Andreosso.

husband, to be hanged at the bars of her window in a halter of gold and silk, wove with her own hand, because that in the matrimonial duties she found he had not the parts, and could not make the efforts answerable to the expectation she had conceived from his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, whereby she had been caught and deceived. There is more labour required in doing than in suffering; so that they are on their part always at least provided for the supply of our exigency, but it may happen otherwise on our part. For this reason Plato wisely made a law, that before every marriage, in order to prove its fitness, certain judges should view the youths, who claimed it, stark naked, and the women naked too, but not lower than the waist. In their trial of us, perhaps, they do not find us worthy of their choice.

Experta latus madidoque simillima loro

Inguina, nec lassâ stare coacta manu

*Deferit imbelles thalamos *.*

It is not enough that the will be good. Impotency and insufficiency are lawful reasons for dissolving a marriage.

Et quærendum aliunde foret nervosius illud,

Quod posset Zonam solvere Virgineam †.

And why should not she out look for an amorous being more licentious and active according to her own standard?

————— *si blando nequeat superesse labori ‡.*

If he cannot perform the pleasing task?

But is it not great impudence to bring our insufficiency and impotency, to the place where we desire to give pleasure, and to leave a good opinion and character of ourselves? For the little that I am able to do now,

————— *ad unum*

Mollis opus ||.

But once a night.

I would

dreosso. As to the tragical death of this prince, see Bayle's dictionary, in the article of Joan I. of Naples.

* As was the case of Galla, mentioned in Martial (lib. vii. ep. 57. v. 3, &c.) who, being dissatisfied with six or seven husbands whom she quitted, was likewise deceived by other husbands equally deficient. † Catullus ad januam impudicæ cujusdam, Carm. 65. v. 27, 28. ‡ Georg. lib. iii. v. 127. || Hor. Epod.

I would not tease a person whom I esteem and fear to offend.

——— *fuge suspicari*
Cujus undenum trepidavit ætas
*Claudere lustrum *.*

Let not your mind indulge suspicious fears

Of him who trembling draws to threescore years.

Nature ought to be satisfied with having rendered this age miserable, without exposing it also to ridicule. I hate to see it, for one poor inch of pitiful vigour which warms it thrice a week, to strut on with as much eagerness as if it had length and strength to perform mighty feats, which end in a mere blaze of flax; and wonder to see its violent itching so suddenly chilled and extinguished. This is an appetite which can be in none but the flower of beautiful youth. If you trust to nature, expecting she will second that indefatigable, full, constant, and magnanimous ardour which is in you, she will certainly leave you in the lurch. Return it, therefore, boldly to some tender, bashful, and ignorant boy, who still trembles under the lash, and blushes at it.

Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
Si quis ebur, vel mista rubent ubi lilia, multiâ
Alba rosâ †.

So Indian iv'ry, stain'd with crimson, shows,
 Or lilies white, mix'd with the damask rose.

He who can, without hanging down his head for very shame, expect next day to face the disdain of those fair eyes, conscious of his fumbling impertinence,

Et taciti fecere tamen convicia vultus †.

——— and, tho' she nothing says,

How ill she lik'd my work her look betrays.

he never felt the satisfaction and pride of having tired them, and tarnished their lustre, by the vigorous performance of one active heroic night. When I have observed any one of them to be disgusted with me, I have not presently accused her levity, but have been in doubt if I had not reason rather to find fault with nature, which has certainly treated me very unkindly and unjustly,

* Horace, lib. ii. ode 4. v. 22.

† Æneid. lib. xii. v. 67.

‡ Ovid. Amor. lib. i. eleg. 7. v. 21.

(*Si non longa satis, si non bene mentula crassa :
Nimirum sapiunt videntque parvam
Matronæ quoque mentulam illibenter.*) *

and done me a most enormous prejudice. Every member I have is equally mine, as much one as another; and no other does more properly make me a man than this.

I ought to give the public my picture intire, with all its lights and shades. The wise part of my lecture wholly consists in truth, liberty, and essence; disdaining to admit those little feigned, usual, and provincial rules into the catalogue of its real duties; it is altogether natural, constant, and general; of which civility and ceremony are daughters indeed, but spurious. We are sure we shall have the appearance of vices when we shall have had them in reality. When we have done with these we run full drive upon others, if we find it must be so: For there is danger that we fancy new duties, to excuse our neglect of the natural ones, and so confound them. That such is the case, it is visible that in places where mistakes are mischiefs, the mischiefs are only mistakes: That in nations where the laws of decency are most rare and most remiss, the primitive rules of common reason are best observed; such numberless duties stifling and dissipating all our care. The application to trifling things diverts our attention from those which justly require it. What an easy, plausible course do these superficial men take, compared with ours! These are shadows, where-with we palliate and pay one another. But, instead of paying, we inflame the reckoning towards that great judge, who tucks up our rags and tatters round our pudenda, and thoroughly scrutinizes every part of us, even to those that are the inmost and most secret. It were a decent and useful quality of our virgin modesty could it prevent this discovery. In fine, he that could reclaim man from so scrupulous a verbal superstition, would do the world no great damage. Our life is divided betwixt folly

* Of these three verses; the first is the beginning of a sort of epigram, intituled, 'Priapus in veterum poetarum catalectis;' and the two others are taken from one of the first epigrams of the same book, 'Ad matronas;' composed of five verses, two of which are parodied by Montaigne.

folly and prudence. Whoever writes nothing of it but what is reverend and regular, leaves above one half behind. I do not excuse myself to myself; and if I did, it should be rather to apologize for my excuses than for any other fault of mine. I excuse myself as to certain humours which, I think, are more in number than those that I can justify. With regard to them I have also this to say (for I desire to please every body, as hard a matter as it is for a single man, * *Esse accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum et voluntatum varietatem* *, i. e. to accommodate himself to so great a variety of manners, discourses, and determinations) that they cannot condemn me for making use of authorities that have been received and approved of for many ages; and that there is no reason that, for want of rhyme, they should refuse me the dispensation which they allow even to the church-men of our nation and time. Of this the two lines that follow are the most signal examples.

† *Rimula, dispeream, ni monogramma tua est.*

Un vit d'amy la contente et bien traite ‡.

What would you think of many others of the like kind? I love modesty; and it is not from judgment that I have chose this scandalous sort of discourse; it is nature that has chose it for me. I commend it not any more than all other terms of speaking contrary to the received custom; but I excuse it, and, by circumstances, both general and particular, mitigate the accusation.

To pursue this subject: From whence can proceed that usurpation of sovereign authority which you pretend to over those ladies who favour you at their own peril;

Si furtiva dedit nigrâ munuscula nocte §.

If in the silence of the night.

She has permitted stoln delight.

so that you presently take upon you the interests, coldness and authority of a husband? It is a free convention; why then do you not stick to it, as you are desirous they should? There is no prescription as to things that are

* Q. Cic. de petitione consulatus, c. 14. † As to the too free poems which Beza composed in his youth, they, who are curious in inquiries of this sort, may consult Bayle's critical dictionary in the article of Beza, note x. ‡ Beza, St. Gelasius. § Catull. ad Mallium, carm. 66. v. 145.

voluntary. It is not the fashion; however, it is certain that I have, in my time, carried on this bargain as far as the nature of it will admit, as conscientiously as any other contract whatsoever, and with some air of justice; and that I never pretended to declare any affection for them but what I really had, and ingenuously discovered to them the decay, strength, and source of it; together with its fits and intermissions. A man does not always hold on in the same pace. I have been so shy of promising, that I fancy my performances have exceeded my promise, and even what I was obliged to do. They have found me faithful, even to the service of their inconstancy; even an inconstancy, avowed, and sometimes multiplied. I never broke with them whilst I had the least hold of them; and, what occasion soever they have given me, never broke with them so far as to scorn or hate them. For such privacies, when even obtained upon terms the most scandalous, do yet oblige me to some benevolence. I have sometimes discovered a little indiscreet anger and impatience upon their tricks and subtuges, and in our disputes: For I am, by my constitution, subject to hasty fallies, which, though slight and short, often spoil my market. If at any time they were pleased to take my free thoughts, I have not failed to give them fatherly; but sharp advice, and to pinch them in the sore place. If ever I left them to complain of me, it was rather that they found my love foolishly conscientious in comparison with the modern custom. I have kept my word in things, wherein I might easily have been dispensed with. They then surrendered sometimes with reputation, and on such articles of capitulation as they easily suffered to be violated by the conqueror. I have more than once made pleasure, in its greatest effort, truckle to the interest of their honour; and, when reason urged me, have armed them against me; so that they conducted themselves with greater security and gravity by my rules, when they frankly referred themselves to them, than they would have done by their own rules. I have ever, to my utmost, taken upon myself alone the hazard of our assignations, in order to save them harmless; and have always brought about our interviews by intrigues the most unpleasant and unexpected, that

that they might be least mistrusted, while yet, in my opinion, they were the more practicable. They are chiefly open in those places where they think themselves sheltered. Things that are the least feared are the least defended and observed. One may more easily dare what nobody thinks you would dare to do, which, through its difficulty, becomes easy. Never had any man his approaches more impertinently genital. This way of loving is more according to discipline; but who knows better than I how ridiculous and ineffectual it is to our people; yet I shall not repent of it: I have nothing more to lose by it *.

— *me tabula sacer*

Votiva paries indicat uvula

Suspendisse potenti

Vestimenta maris Deo †.

For me my votive table shews

That I have hang'd up my wet cloaths

Upon the sacred temple wall

Of th' ocean's lord high admiral.

It is now high time to speak out: But perhaps I might say, as I would do at another time, thou talkest idly, my friend. The love of thy time has little correspondence with faith and integrity.

— — — *Hæc si tu postules*

Ratione certa facere, nibilo plus agas,

Quàm si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias †.

These things so fickle, if you undertake,

By reason permanent to make;

This will be all thou'lt get by it,

Wisely to run out of thy wit.

So on the contrary, were I to begin, it should certainly be by the same tract, and the progress should be the same, how fruitless soever it might prove. Incapacity and stupidity are commendable in an action that is not praise-worthy. The farther I deviate from their humour in this, the nearer I approach to my own. As for the rest, in this bargain I did not suffer myself to be totally

* Montaigne would signify by this, that having been exposed by love to many traverses, he had, at length, extricated himself from that dangerous passion for ever. † Hor. lib. i. ode 5. v. 13,

&c. ‡ Terence Eunuch, act 1. scene 1. v. 16, &c.

tally captivated: I was pleased with it, but did not forget myself. I reserved the little sense and discretion which nature has given me, intire for their service and my own; a little rapture, but no dotage. My conscience was also engaged in it, even to an excess of debauchery; but never so far as to be guilty of ingratitude, malice, and cruelty. I did not purchase the pleasure of this vice at any rate; but contented myself with its proper and simple expence. 'Nullum intra se vitium est,' i. e. Nothing is in itself a vice *. I hate a stupid, sluggish laziness, almost as much as I do a crabbed and painful employment. The one pinches me, the other lays me asleep. I like wounds as well as bruises, and cuts as well as dry blows. I found in this commerce, when I was best qualified for it, a just medium betwixt the two extremes. Love is a wakeful, spritely, and gay agitation. I was not sick nor sorry with it, but warmed; and, moreover, changed by it. There it is necessary to make a stop. It hurts none but fools. A young man asked Panætius †, the philosopher, if it was becoming a wise man to be in love: Let the wise man look to that, said he, but let not thou and I, who are not so, engage ourselves in an affair of so much agitation and violence as will enslave us to others, and render us contemptible to ourselves. He spoke the truth, that we ought not to trust a passion, so giddy of itself, to a soul that has not fortitude to withstand its assaults, nor to disprove the saying of Agefilaus ‡, that prudence and love cannot associate. It is, in truth, a vain occupation, indecent, scandalous, and unlawful; but, to carry it on after this manner, I reckon it wholesome, proper to enliven both the body and soul when dull and sluggish. And, in quality of a physician, I would prescribe it to a man of my make and condition, as soon as any other recipe whatsoever to rouze and keep him in vigour when far advanced in years, and to make him dally with the attacks of old age. Whilst we are but in the suburbs of it, and while the pulse yet beats,

Dum

* Senec. epist. 95. † Idem, ibid. 117. ‡ O! how hard a matter is it, said Agefilaus, for a man to be in love and his sober senses at one and the same time! Plutarch in the life of Agefilaus, c. 4. of Amyot's translation.

*Dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo* *.

Whilst my grey hairs do just approach in sight,
Whilst my old age is fresh, and stands upright;
Whilst on fate's spinning wheel remains more thread,
And whilst, without a staff, firm is my tread.

we have need to be prompted, and tickled by some such provocative. Do but observe with what youth, vigour, and gaiety it inspired the sage Anacreon: And Socrates, when he was older than I now am, speaking of an amorous object, 'Leaning,' said he, '† my shoulder to her shoulder, and touching her head with mine, as we were reading both together in one book, I perceived, without jesting, a sudden sting in my shoulder, like some flea-bite, which crept about me five days after; and was accompanied with a continual titillation in my heart.' What! did only an accidental touch, and that by the shoulder, raise a heat, and create an alteration in a breast that was chilled and enervated by age; and one too that was the first reformer of the human race! And pray why not? Socrates was a man, that would neither be, nor seem to be any thing else. Philosophy does not combat natural pleasures, provided they be used moderately; and preaches up moderation, but not total abstinence. It raves most against such pleasures as are foreign to nature, and adulterated. It says, that the appetites of the body ought not to be augmented by the mind; and ingeniously cautions us not to desire to stir up our hunger by saturity, not to wish to stuff instead of filling the belly, to avoid all enjoyment that may bring us to want, and all meats and drinks that create thirst or hunger. So, in the service of love, philosophy prescribes to us to take an object that may purely satisfy the necessity of the body, and not move the soul, which ought to have no share in the fact, but simply to follow and assist the body. But have I not reason to judge that these precepts, which are, I think, however, in other respects a little too severe, are only directed to a body that performs its office; and that for a
body

* Juv. Sat. 3. v. 26, &c.

† Xenophon's Symposium, c. 4. § 27, 28.

body in a state of decay, like that of a weak stomach, it is excusable to warm and support it by art; and, by the intervention of the fancy, to restore the appetite and alacrity, because it went off of itself?

May we not say that there is nothing in us, during this terrestrial prison, that is purely either corporeal or spiritual; and that we injuriously dismember a man alive; and that it seems but reasonable that we should act as favourably with regard to pleasure as to pain? This was (for example) vehement, even to perfection, in the souls of the saints by repentance: The body had naturally a share therein by the right of its union, and yet might have little share in the cause; and, nevertheless, they were not contented that the body should barely follow and assist the afflicted soul. They afflicted it by itself with grievous and peculiar torments, to the end that both the body and the soul should strive to plunge man in misery, by so much the more wholesome, as it is more piercing. So, in the pleasures of the body, is it not injustice to deny the soul a share in them, and to say that it must be dragged into them as into some forced and servile obligation and necessity? It is rather her part to hatch and foment them; to present and invite herself to them, the governing part being her prerogative; as it is also her province, in my opinion, in those pleasures that are peculiar to her, to inspire and infuse into the body, all the sensation of them which its condition can admit of; and to study how to make them agreeable and salutary to it. For it is highly reasonable, as they say, that the body should not pursue its appetites to the prejudice of the soul: And why is it not as reasonable, that the soul should not pursue her's to the prejudice of the body?

I have no other passion that keeps me in breath. The same effect that avarice, ambition, quarrels, and law-suits have upon other persons, who, like me, are of no particular profession, love would cause to much more advantage. It would render me vigilant, sober, graceful, and careful of my person. It would settle my countenance, so that it could not be spoiled by the crabbed looks of old age, those looks that are so ugly and so lamentable: It would again put me upon solid

solid and wise studies, by which I might render myself more esteemed and beloved, clearing my mind of the despair of itself, and of its use, and making it again acquainted with itself. It would divert me from a thousand uneasy thoughts, a thousand melancholy chagrins, which inactivity and an ill state of health bring upon us at such an age. It would, in a dream at least, put fresh warmth into that blood which nature has deserted. It would hold up the chin, and a little stretch out the nerves, as well as add vigour and alacrity to the life of that poor man, who is making large strides towards his dissolution. But I am far from being ignorant that it is a benefit very hard to recover: By weakness and long experience our taste is become more delicate and exquisite. We desire most when we bring least; and are willing to have the most choice when we least deserve to be accepted. From our consciousness of this we are less daring and more diffident; and, considering our condition and theirs, nothing can assure us of being beloved. I am ashamed of myself when in company with those young bucks,

* *Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quàm nova collibus arbor inbæret* †.

To what end should we carry our misery where there is such mirth?

Possint ut juvenes visere fervidi

Multo non sine risu,

Dilapsam in cineres facem *.

That youths, in fervent wishes bold,

Not, without laughter, may behold

A torch, whose early fire

Could every breast with love inflame,

Now faintly spread a sickly gleam,

And in a smoak expire.

They have both strength and reason on their side; let us give way to them; we have nothing more to say for ourselves: And this blossom of springing beauty is not to be touched by hands so stiff with the cold, nor to be dealt with

* Hor. Epod.

† i. e. 'Who are always in

'a capacity of performing well.' This is a short paraphrase on the distich, by La Fontaine, which those, who do not understand the Latin must be content with; for the terms, made use of by Horace, convey such gross ideas, that we do not chuse to translate them literally. ‡ Hor. lib. iv. ode 13. v. 26, &c.

with by methods that are purely material. For as the ancient philosopher said to his friend that jeered him because he could not gain the favour of a girl whom he passionately courted, 'Such new cheese * will not stick to my hook.' It is a commerce that stands in need of relation and correspondence. Other pleasures that we receive are capable of being acknowledged by returns of a different kind; but this is only to be paid with the same coin. Really, in this sport, the pleasure which I give, tickles my imagination more than that which is given to me. Now, as he has not a spice of generosity in him, who can receive pleasure where he gives none, it must needs be a mean soul that desires to owe all, and can be contented to maintain a conversation with persons to whom he is a charge. There is no beauty, grace, or privacy, so exquisite that a man of honour ought to desire upon such terms. If they only can be kind to us out of pity, I had much rather not live at all, than live upon charity. I would have right to demand it of them, in the stile that I saw used in Italy, 'Fate ben per voi, i. e. Do good for your own sake; or in the manner that Cyrus exhorted his soldiers: 'Let him that loves me follow me.' Comfort yourself (I shall be told) with women of your own condition, who will therefore, be more ready to oblige you. O! sottish and insipid.

— nolo

Barbam vellere mortuo Leoni †.

I will not twitch a dead lion by the beard.

Xenophon lays it for an objection, and an accusation against Menon †, that none but women who had past their bloom, were the objects of his amours. I really take more pleasure in the bare sight of the just and sweet mixture of two young beauties, or only contemplating it in my fancy, than to act as a second in such a sad disagreeable medley. I leave this whimsical appetite to the emperor Galba ‖, who fancied no flesh but what was tough and old; and to that poor wretch in Ovid.

O ego

* Diog. Laertius, in the life of Bion, lib. iv. sect. 47.

† Mart. lib. ii. epig. 10. v. 9, 10.

‡ Αυτὸς (Μενών) Παιδίνα εἶχε Θάρυπταν, ἀγένητον
ὡν γυναικῶν ἡ Κύρῳ ἀναλῆας, lib. ii. c. 6. § 15.

‖ Suetonius in the life of Galba, §. 22.

*O ego di faciant talem te cernere possim,
 Charaque mutatis oscula ferre comis,
 Amplexique meis corpus non pingue lacertis ! **
 O wou'd to heav'n that such I might thee see
 To kiss those locks grey with antiquity,
 And thy lank body with my arms embrace.

And, amongst the chief deformities, I reckon beauties that are artificial and forced. Emonez, a young wench of Chios, thinking, by her fine head-geer, to acquire the beauty which nature had denied her, went to Arcefilaus †, the philosopher, and asked him whether it was possible for a wise man to be in love : ' Yea verily,' replied he, ' but not with an artificial and counterfeited beauty like thine.' The deformity of a confessed old face is neither so old, nor so ugly, in my opinion, as another that is painted, or rather plaistered. Shall I say it without the danger of being taken by the collar for it ? I do not take love to be properly and naturally in season but in the age next to childhood.

*Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
 Mille sagaces fulleret hospites,
 Discrimen obscurum, solutis
 Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu ‡ :*
 Who, plac'd amongst the maids, defies
 A skilful stranger's prying eyes,
 So smooth his boyish looks appear,
 So loose, so womanish his hair.

Nor beauty neither ; for, though Homer extends it to the budding of the chin, Plato himself has observed it to be uncommon. And the reason why the sophist Dion called the first down of beards Aristogitons and Harmodians, is notorious. I think that in virility love is a little out of its place, but much more in old age.

Importunus enim transvolat aridas

Quercus ||. —————

O'er wither'd oaks the wanton flies.

And Margaret, queen of Navarre, like a very woman as she was, extends the advantage of the women to a great length, ordering that thirty years of age should be

VOL. III.

G g

the

* Ex Ponto, lib. i. Ep. 4. To his wife, v. 49, 50. † Diog. Laert. in the Life of Arcefilaus, lib. iv. Sect. 34. ‡ Horace, lib. ii. Ode 5. v. 20, &c. § Ibid. lib. iv. Ode. 13. v. 9.

the season for changing the title of beautiful into that of good woman. The shorter time that we allow to love to keep possession of us, it is so much the better for us. Do but observe its carriage. He is a beardless boy who knows not how they behave in his school contrary to all order. Study, exercise, and practice, are ways for insufficiency to proceed by. Novices are the regents in that school. 'Amor ordinem nescit' *, i. e. Love knows no order. Doubtless its conduct is more graceful when mix'd with inadvertency and trouble. Miscarriages and disappointments give it a spirit and a grace. Provided it be sharp and eager, it is no great matter whether it be prudent. Do but observe how it goes staggering tripping, and playing tricks. To guide it by art and wisdom is putting it in the stocks; and it is cramping its divine liberty to put it into clutches so hairy and callous. For the rest, I have often heard women represent this being as spiritual, and scorn to take any notice of what interest the senses have therein. Every thing is of service to it; but I can say, that I have often seen that we have excused the weakness of their understandings for the sake of the beauty of their persons; but that I never yet saw, that, for the sake of the beauty of the mind, how sedate and mature soever, the ladies were ever inclined to lend a hand to support a body that was fallen ever so little to decay. Why does not some woman or other take it into her head to make that noble Socratical barter of the body for the mind, purchasing a philosophical and spiritual intelligence and generation, at the price of her thighs, the highest price which she can set upon them? Plato orders, in his laws, that whoever performed any signal and advantageous exploit in war should not, while it lasted, be denied a kiss, or any other amorous favour by any woman whatsoever, his deformity or age notwithstanding. What he thinks to be so just in recommendation of military valour, why may it not be the same for the encouragement of any other valour? And why does not some woman take a fancy to forestall her companions

* Mr. Cotton, in his translation, quotes St. Jerome for this, but does not mention chapter or page. Anacreon said, long before him, that Bacchus, aided by love, was irregular in his Frolics. Ode 52. v. ult.

ons in the Glory of this chaste love? I may well say chaste,

* ——— *nam si quando ad prælia ventum est
Ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis
Incaustum furit †.*

For when to join love's battle they engage
Like fire in straw they vainly spend their rage.

The vices that are stifled in thought are not the worst.
To conclude this notable commentary, which has escaped
from me in a torrent of babble; a torrent impetuous
sometimes, and offensive;

*Ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum
Procurrit casto virginis è gremio:
Quod miseræ oblitæ molli sub veste locatum,
Dum adventu matris profilit excutitur,
Atque illud prono præceps agitur decursu,
Huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor †.*

As a fair apple, by a lover sent,
To's mistress for a private compliment,
Does tumble from the modest virgin's lap,
Where she had quite forgot it, by mishap;
When starting at her mother's coming in,
It is dropt out her garments from between,
And rolls upon the floor before her eyes,
A guilty blush her fair complexion dyes.

I say that males and females are cast in the same mold;
and that, education and custom excepted, the difference
between them is not great. *Plato* calls upon both sexes
indifferently to associate in all the studies, exercises, of-
fices, and professions, military and civil, in his republic.
And the philosopher *Antisthenes* § says, 'The virtue
' of both is the same.' It is much more easy to accuse
one sex, than to excuse the other, according to the pro-
verb, which says, 'Vice corrects sin.'

* *Georg.* iii. v. 97. † The application which *Montaigne* here
makes of *Virgil's* words is very extraordinary, as will appear im-
mediately to those who will be at the pains of consulting the origi-
nal. † *Catull.* ad *Hortalum*, *Carm.* 63. v. 19, &c. § *Diog.*
Laert. in the life of *Antisthenes*, lib. vi. § 12.



A COMPLETE INDEX

Of the most

REMARKABLE MATTERS

Contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

A.

A CTION animates Words	Page 41
<i>Ægina</i> , Inhabitants of, their Thumbs cut off	
by the <i>Athenians</i> , and why	99
<i>Æmilianus Scipio</i> 's Character	173
<i>Æsculapius</i> struck with Thunder	188
<i>Æsop</i> his As	215
Affection, remarkable, seldom shewn by Women to	
their Husbands, until they have lost them	157
loyal and vehement of a Wife towards her	
Husband	158, & seq.
Affections of Beasts, what	252
of Women subject to change	325
in Farewells	277
occasioned by small Things	264, &c.
<i>Agefilaus</i> mulcted by the Ephori for his too great Po-	
pularity	137
<i>Agefilaus</i> 's Opinion of Love	352
<i>Agefilaus</i> in his Travels lodged in Temples, why	231
<i>Agrippians</i> lived securely without offensive Weapons	15
<i>Albucilla</i> 's Suicide	5
<i>Alcibiades</i> 's Character	173
<i>Alcibiades</i> , why he cut off the Tail and Ears of his	
Dog	264

G g 3

Alexander

I N D E X.

<i>Alexander</i> excellent above all the other Kings and Emperors	Page 169, &c.
<i>Alexander's</i> Actions that may fall under Censure	170
Virtue	232
<i>Alexander</i> and <i>Thalestris</i>	324
<i>Alexander the Tyrant</i> , of <i>Pheres</i> , why he would not see Tragedies	100
<i>Alexia</i> , two extraordinary Events at the Siege of it	153
Almanacks Lyars	61
<i>Alva</i> , Duke, compared to the Constable of <i>Montmo-</i> <i>rency</i>	68
Ambition more untameable than Love	140
Daughter to presumption	49
the only Ruin of <i>Cæsar's</i> Actions	145
of <i>Cæsar</i> full of Mischiefs	171
<i>Andreosso</i> hanged by his Wife, <i>Joan</i> Queen of <i>Naples</i> , for not being sufficiently furnished	323, &c.
Anger, indiscreet, of Parents	123
transports Men from their Judgment	124
is pleased with, and flatters itself	127
is incorporated by concealing it	129
how it ought to be managed in Families <i>ib. & seq.</i>	
arms Valour	131
<i>Antigonus's</i> Punishment of the Treachery of his Ene- my's Soldiers	219
<i>Anti-Cato's</i> of <i>Cæsar</i>	142
<i>Antiochus</i> stopped in his Conquests by a Letter from the <i>Roman</i> Senate	95
Apes very large taken by <i>Alexander</i> in the <i>Indies</i>	313
Appetite contemns what it possesses	11
springing from Love the most violent	139
Apples of <i>Hippomenes</i>	259
Approbation, public, ought to be courted	30
<i>Arcefilaus's</i> Answer to a Question, if it was possible for a Wife Man, or a Philosopher, to be in Love	337
Archer who refused to try his Art to save his Life	95
<i>Archytas</i> , Moderation of his Passion	127
<i>Argyraspides</i> , Soldiers punished for having betrayed their General	219
<i>Aristotle's</i> Contempt of Slander	102
Armies, monstrous, of no effect	154
<i>Arria's</i> Suicide	159
	<i>Arria's</i>

I N D E X.

<i>Assassins</i> believed that Murder intitles them to Paradise	Page 127
<i>Atalanta</i> diverted from her Way, lost the Race	253
<i>Athens</i> compared to Ladies of Pleasure	285
<i>Atticus</i> starves himself to death	6, &c.
<i>Aurat</i> a good Latin Poet	68
Austerity of <i>James King of Naples</i> and <i>Sicily</i>	253
of Life affected by some Churchmen	255
of Mens Decrees render the Propension of Women more violent	294

B.

B ARBARIAN Kings, their Method of binding themselves to each other	98
Bathfulness an Ornament to young People	278
Baths	196, 197
Beauties why masked	13
of the Person when preferred to those of the Mind	252
painted, reckoned among Deformities	337
Beauty a Thing of great Recommendation	42
first Advantage that gave Pre-eminence to Men	ib.
and Stature regarded in the Persons of Princes and Magistrates	43
required in Governors of Places	ib.
of Stature the only Beauty of Men	ib.
singular, of <i>Spurina</i> , slashed and disfigured by himself with Wounds and Scars, and why	146
<i>Bedoins</i> held the Doctrines of Transmigration and Predestination	31, & seq. 118
<i>Bellay</i> the Poet	68
Births and Burials interdicted in the Precincts of the Isle of <i>Delos</i>	316
Blindness, counterfeit, became real	96
occasioned by a Dream	97
Blood of a He-Goat good for preservation of Life	199
<i>Bodinus</i> a good Author	133
Body's Health and Vigour the Cause of the Sprightliness of the Mind	273
	<i>Boetius,</i>

I N D E X.

<i>Boetius, Stephen</i> , his Character	Page 66
Books esteemed by great Leaders	147
without Learning, Walls without Stone or	
Brick	227
their Pleasure and Inconvenience	256
written upon Love	290
Bowels of a <i>Spartan</i> Boy torn out by a Fox	133
Boxing prohibited by <i>Plato</i>	106, &c.
<i>Brachman</i> Virgins	251
<i>Bretagne</i> Treaty	91

C.

C ÆSAR's Death, the Sun mourned for it	3
<i>Cæsar</i> called Thief and Drunkard to his Face	75
<i>Cæsar</i> 's Disposal of Kingdoms	94
<i>Cæsar</i> very ambitious	140, &c. 145, 171, &c.
<i>Cæsar</i> 's amorous Character	140, &c.
wonderful Parts	142
Sobriety	ib.
<i>Cæsar</i> called a Drunkard	143
<i>Cæsar</i> 's Clemency in the Time of his Government	ib.
Art of War	147 &c.
<i>Cæsar</i> readily obeyed by his Soldiers	148 &c.
<i>Cæsar</i> 's Promptness in his Expeditions	ib.
<i>Cæsar</i> called his Soldiers Fellow-Soldiers	149
<i>Cæsar</i> 's Severity to keep them in awe	ib.
<i>Calicut</i> Nobility	281
<i>Cambyfes</i> 's Dream that made him put his Brother to	
Death	268
<i>Canacro</i> 's Servants hanged for betraying him	219
<i>Carneades</i> 's Visit to <i>Arcefilaus</i>	19
<i>Cato</i> 's Suicide	8
Regard to his Wife	11
Ceremonies troublesome	249
Change dangerous in Governments	61
<i>Charillus</i> , how he curbed his Passions	127
Chastisement to Children	124
should be deferred till Anger is over	ib.
Chastity vowed and kept on the Wedding-Day	287, &c.
how hard it is for Women to preserve theirs	294
Chastity's Duty, or Obligation hard to practise	299, &c.
Chastity	

I N D E X.

Chastity corrupted by those who are least to be fear- ed	Page 302
extreme of some Women	302
doth principally lye in the Will	<i>ib.</i>
of Women, too nice an Inspection into it pernicious	304
Chewing accounted unbecoming	317
Children gloriously saved, by <i>Theoxena</i> , from K. <i>Philip's</i> Edict	108
monstrous	121
indiscreetly abandoned to the Government of their Fathers	123
of the <i>Spartans</i> whipped before the Altar of Diana	134
Church, why afflicted with Troubles	14
<i>Cicero</i> ambitious	20
<i>Cinna</i> , a remarkable Action in the Civil War against him	225
<i>Claudius</i> , Emperor, a Cuckold	307
<i>Cleanthes's</i> Resolution to die	7
Cloths, hair-cloths, to restrain the Appetite of Love	139
Coaches swift	89
Codpieces worn heretofore	291
Colonies of the <i>Romans</i>	91
Combats of troop against troop	93, 103
Comedians touched to the quick in the Acting of their Parts	266
Commerce, or Acquaintance with Books	253
Complacency and Satisfaction in doing Good	229
Conduct of the Females to be left in a great measure to their own Discretion.	323
Confession should be free and bold	274
Auricular	276
Conjunction of the Sexes a Center to which all Things tend	289
Consolations how ought to be administred	256
prescribed by Philosophy	257
Constancy wonderful of some <i>French</i> Peasants in the Civil Wars	135
<i>Constantius</i> , Emperor, his stiff Gesture	35
Consultations of Physicians	189

Continence

I N D E X.

Continence enjoined to Women for their particular Share	Page 287
difficult, or rather impossible to Women <i>ib. & seq.</i>	80
Convenience, none without Inconvenience	80
Conversation with all Men, its Utility	242, &c.
with beautiful and well-bred Women	250
Corps of beautiful Women kept three Days in <i>Egypt</i>	
before they were interred	321
Correction never ought to be given in Anger	124
Counsel's Strength consists in Time	237
Counsels ought not to be judged of by Events	238
Courage, what it is mistaken for	213
Cowards naturally cruel and bloody	107
Cowardise the Mother of Cruelty	<i>ib.</i>
Criminals dissected alive by Surgeons	92
condemned to execute themselves	220
most cruel Treatment	265
<i>Cræsus's</i> Barbarity	110
Cruel Men naturally Cowards	107
Cruelties of Tyrants	107, 109
Cuckolds pity'd, not disesteemed for it	305
Cuckoldry, the Reproach of it silenced	48, 49
among the Ancients	297
a Character indelible	304
frequent, but not to be divulged	306, &c.
of the Emperor <i>Claudius</i>	107
Curiosity of Knowing, a Scourge to Men	36
pernicious to Women	306

D.

D ANDAMIS, an <i>Indian</i> Sage, his Censure of the Lives of <i>Socrates</i> , <i>Pythagoras</i> and <i>Diogenes</i>	216
Daughters, the Fault of their Education	288
naturally inclined to the Passion of Love	289
Death of Men, a very great Thing	1, 2
how felt	5
voluntary and effeminate	4
wished for	7, 8
denounced by Officers to Persons of Quality	
condemned by the <i>Roman</i> Emperors	161
generally and particularly considered	260, &c.
useful, laudable, though not attainable	85
Death	

I N D E X.

Death of another, how to judge of it	Page 1
Deliberation very troublesome	48
<i>Demosthenes's</i> Suicide	5
Devotion easy to counterfeit	236
Difficulty gives all things their Estimation	10
<i>Dionysius</i> the Tyrant a Poet	37
Diseases their Causes, as assigned by different Philosophers	190, 192
Diversion a good Receipt for the Diseases of the Mind	259
from Revenge	262
from Love	263
from common Rumours	264
Diversions military	258
Diversion made use of to comfort	256
Doing and saying should go together	125
<i>Domitius's</i> Cowardise	5
Double-dealing Men, what good for	213
Drugs, Fraud used in the Application of,	189
on what Foundation the Physicians pretend to know their Virtue	202
Drunkennes indulged to Slaves by <i>Lycurgus</i> , and why	92
<i>Drusus's</i> Answer to an Architect who offered to contrive his House so that it should not be overlooked	231
Duels common in <i>Narvingue</i>	102
censured	ib.

E

E ATING, a Sight hateful to some Nations	317
Education's end	67
<i>Edward III.</i> of England his saying of <i>Charles V.</i> the Third's Politics	85
<i>Egypt</i> the Oath of its Judges	91
Election of two different things, from whence it proceeds	217
referred to Fortune or Chance	9
Elephant the Price of a Woman's Prostitution	60
Emperor, in what Posture he should die	503
Enjoyments are not alike	83
	321
Enjoyment	

I N D E X.

Enjoyment is not a sufficient Testimony of a Woman's Affection	Page 321
<i>Epaminondas</i> the first among the <i>Greeks</i>	172
his Valour, &c.	<i>ib.</i>
placed in the first Rank of excellent Men	223
<i>Epaminondas's</i> Delicacy in the Article of Justice	<i>ib.</i>
Humanity	<i>ib.</i>
great Virtues	<i>ib.</i> &c.
Custom of sacrificing to the Muses	
when he went to War,	224
Magnanimity	225
cheerful Death	262
<i>Epicharis</i> , his Resolution when on the Rack	136
<i>Epicurus</i> fond of Glory	18, &c.
<i>Epirotes</i> slayed alive	110
Epistles, familiar, <i>Cicero's</i>	94
<i>Essenians</i> how they lived without the Use of Women	316
Esteem of the People to be courted	30
<i>Eudamidas</i> , his Saying to a Philosopher, talking of War	124
Events succeeding contrary to Opinions	237, &c.
Excellent Men and Women	157, 174
Executions whet the Edge of Vices	14
Exhortation to Soldiers before a Battle of great Importance	150
Experience, guided by Chance, not to be credited	193
Eye, real, lost by counterfeiting the Loss of one	96

F.

F AMILY's excellent Estate	231
Faggot-maker thought to have a Genius for the Mathematicks	58
<i>Fatua</i> , <i>Faunus's</i> Wife, would see no Man after Marriage	302
Fear of a Fall, more insupportable than the Fall itself	48
Felicity, human, according to <i>Montaigne's</i> Opinion	240
Fidelity in Love	330
Fencers	196
	Fencing

I N D E X.

Fencing Art useful to its End	Page 105
injurious to Valour	<i>ib.</i>
contrary to the Manner of fighting in Battle	106
<i>Fez</i> , King of, his Victory in Sickneſs	87
<i>Flora's</i> Amour with <i>Pompey</i>	11
(the famous Courtezan's) Amours	252
Folly to venture what we have, in Hopes to increaſe it	49
Fortitude of a <i>Spaniſh</i> Peaſant	135
<i>Franks</i> , from whence they came	90
<i>French</i> Language	41
Scriblers, and Language	311, &c.
Manners corrupted	62
their Indiscretion in foreign Countries	104
<i>Frenchmen</i> compared to Monkeys	50
Friars of <i>Florence</i> who would ſubmit their different	
Opinions to a fiery Tryal	119
Friendſhip, one ſingle and perfect preferred before	
all others	245
private contemned for the common Good	224
ſcarce betwixt Huſbands and Wives	284, &c.

G.

G <i>ALBA</i> , who diſſembled ſleeping to favour <i>Me-</i>	
<i>canas's</i> Amour with his Wife	304
<i>Galba's</i> Amours	336
<i>Gaſcons</i> Language	41
Generation Act why excluded from ſerious Diſcourſe	277
Genital Member unruly, and abuſed	292
Genitals, a Man born without them	122
Gladiators	91
Glory due to God alone	17
what it is	<i>ib.</i>
contemned by Philoſophers	17
deſired for the Benefit it brings along with it	18
to be deſired for itſelf	19
judged by Mens own Conſciences	20, 21
recorded in books	30
the ſhorteſt way to it	232
God's Name, how it may be increaſed	17
Gods, Heathen, Patrons of Governments	31
Good and evil Moral confounded	82
Governments obnoxious to Diſeaſes	90

H h

Gournay,

I N D E X.

<i>Gournay</i> , Madam de, her Character	Page 69
Gout counterfeited became real	96
Grandeur of the <i>Romans</i>	94
Greek learned in old Age	111
Greeks and <i>Romans</i> compared	137
Grief eased by a pleasant Method	267
imprinted by counterfeited Forms	266
<i>Gryllus</i> , his valiant Death	261
<i>Guise</i> , Duke of, shot at	120
Gymnastic of <i>Plato</i>	292, &c.
Gymnosophists voluntarily burn themselves	117

H.

H ARE Tutor for Valour	119
<i>Harpeste</i> , <i>Seneca's</i> Wife's Fool, blind and did not know it	97
Health too vigorous must be abated by Art	90
a precious Thing	182
altered and corrupted by Physicians	182 & seq.
altered by Use of Physick	192
<i>Hegeſias's</i> Disciples pined themselves to Death, why	259
<i>Heliogabalus's</i> Design of dying delicately	4
<i>Hiero's</i> Wife, thought all Mens Breath stunk	302
<i>Himbercourt</i> , how he appeased the Fury of the <i>Ligeois</i>	258
<i>Homer</i> Guide and Teacher to <i>Virgil</i>	166
perfect Instructor in the Knowledge of all Things	168
Honour obtained by Valour	21, 22
what it is	24
<i>Horace's</i> Language	309
Houſes, garrisoned, plundered ſooner than others, why	15
<i>Hungary</i> given up by <i>Solyman</i>	96
Husbands careful of the Chastity of their Wives	293
may be too careful of it	306
Hypocriſy decried in War	26

J.

J ANUS, his double Face	270
<i>Jaropele</i> , Duke of <i>Ruſſia</i> , how he liked the Treason, but punished the Traitor	218
Jealousy	

I N D E X.

Jealousy exasperates Men against Incontinence	Page 297
and Envy	<i>ibid.</i>
among Beasts	<i>ibid.</i>
of Women furious and odious	299, &c.
Ignorance Mother of Vices	228
Ill-Luck good for something	50
Impotency and Insufficiency in a Man dissolve his Marriage	326
Inclinations, natural, fortified by Education seldom altered and overcome	233
are not always to be followed	242, &c.
Inconstancy pardonable in Womens Love	325
Indies not conquered by the Kings of <i>Castile</i> and <i>Portugal</i>	85
Infant, monstrous	121
Intentions, secret	52, &c.
Inutility itself not useless in Nature	209
<i>Joan</i> , Queen of <i>Naples</i> , why she caused her Husband to be hanged	325
Joy, profound, has more Severity than Gaiety in it	80
<i>Italians</i> great Restraint of their Wives	323
Judgment proper for all Subjects	7
<i>Julian</i> the Apostate's Character	76, &c.
Justice malicious	210
universal	216
peculiar and national	<i>ibid.</i>

K.

K ILLING, an Act of Fear	100, &c.
Kingdoms disposed of by <i>Cæsar</i>	94
gained by the Right of War, restored	95
Kings ought to command their Armies in Person, and to be active even on a Death-Bed	83
Kisses powerful and dangerous, become contemptible by Salutations	320

L.

L acedæmonian Children whipped at <i>Diana's</i> Altar	134
Women expose their Thighs	293
Lacedæmonian Women more Virgins when Wives than our Daughters	293
H h 2	Ladies

I N D E X.

Ladies Honour and Duty	Page 32
Favours, the Boasting of them censured	296
learnedly speaking and writing	247
never tempted can't boast of their Chastity	295
<i>Ladislaus</i> , King of <i>Naples</i> , how poisoned	141
Language Magisterial to Servants reprov'd	245
Laws the justest, partly unjust	82
Lawyer, a pleasant Story of one	198
Lawyers Debates, their Contexture	61
Laziness hateful	332
Learned Men, why vain and weak	66
<i>Lepidus's</i> Wife broke his Heart	297
Liberty of Conscience	75
and Freedom of Speaking never suspected	211
Liberties counterfeited practis'd without Success	215
Library, <i>Montaigne's</i> , its Situation and Form	254
<i>Libyans</i> general good State of Health	184
Life by what trifling Objects the Desire of it is	
kept up	265
exquisite what	230
hidden from the Sight of other Men	317
divided betwixt Folly and Prudence	328, &c.
<i>Livia</i> , what she said after she happened to see naked	
Men	293
Love, a Law to keep it in Breath	10
stronger than Ambition	141
the Entertainment of the Muses	278
is more animated and lovely in Poetry than	
in its own Essence	279
Love's Transports banished from Marriage, why	
	279, &c.
Love being founded wholly upon Pleasure, differs	
therefore from Marriage	285
the general Tendency of Mankind to it	289
Edicts at <i>Rome</i> for its Service	<i>ibid.</i>
Love's Definition according to <i>Zeno</i> and <i>Socrates</i>	314
Love makes Men Beasts	<i>ibid.</i>
which is so inspired by Nature should not be	
condemned	315
of the <i>Spaniards</i> and <i>Italians</i> timorous and secret	319
Love stimulated by talking of it discreetly	318, &c.
should be made by Degrees	319, &c.
	Love

I N D E X.

Love	<i>Montaigne's Fidelity in it</i>	Page 330
	foolishly conscientious	<i>ibid.</i>
	of this Time has little to do with Sincerity	331
	not sociable with Prudence	332
	what it is, and how it hurts none but Fools	<i>ibid.</i>
	augmented by Fruition	299
	of what Profit in old Men	334
	requires Relation and Correspondency	336
Love's Comportment		337
Love furious to a Statue of <i>Venus</i> , and to a dead Body		321
Lover having gained his Mistress's Consent refuses to enjoy her		320
<i>Lucretius's</i> Picture of the Amours of <i>Mars</i> and <i>Venus</i>		308
Lye, of giving it		70
	revenged with a Box on the Ear	102
Lying, Vice reproached to the <i>French</i>		73
	reproached, offends	<i>ibid.</i>
	Argument of the Contempt of God	<i>ibid. &c.</i>
	condemned	<i>ibid.</i>
	how expiated by the <i>Indians</i>	74
	amongst the <i>Greeks</i> and <i>Romans</i>	<i>ibid.</i>

M.

M	AGNANIMITY, wherein it consists	232
	<i>Mabomet</i> a very great Lecher	141
	<i>Mabomet</i> II. the Murderer of his Brother	219
Maids restoring their Reputations merely by their	Contancy	196
	waiting on Ladies ought not to be kept too close	323
	dressed up in Bashfulness and Fear	<i>ibid.</i>
Maladies disfiguring the Countenance the most dan-	gerous	124
Man without any Genitals		122
	learned and the self-sufficient Man differ	227
Man's chiefest Sufficiency		242
Man made by the Gods for their Sport		315
	avoids to see a Man born, every one runs to see him die	316
Manners of the Vulgar more regular than the Philo-	sophers	68
<i>Marcellinus Tullius's</i> deliberate Death		8

I N D E X.

Marriage Knot	Page 14
happy, Proof of it	157
more necessary, but not less honourable than Virginity	225
dissolved by the Impotence or Insufficiency of the Husband	326
not accompanied with the Raptures of Love	279, &c.
betwixt a blind Wife and a deaf Husband	306
Marriages in honour among the Romans, why	14
happy	282, &c.
unhappy contracted purely upon the Account of Beauty	280
in <i>Italy</i> unhappy, why	322
Mars his Enjoyment with Venus	308
Mask, why first invented	13
Means, bad, the End good	90, &c.
Mæcenæ's Passion for Life	175
Mechmed, Emperor's Barbarity	110
Meditation, a powerful Study	243
Melancholy joined with Delight	81, &c.
Member of Generation consecrated in several ways	290
unruly given to Men and Women	292
Members of Generation, esteemed shameful	316
Memory useful to the Judgment	54
quite lost	55
Receptacle of Sciences	56
Men of extraordinary Worth	166
ingenious in using themselves ill	317
Midas, King, his Death	268
Mimicks	312, &c.
Mind in an Equilibrium	9
of Man engaged or disengaged by Trifles	264
determined by meer Imaginations and Chimæras	265
of various Qualities to be commended	245
Mind's strict Fraternity with the Body	272
extraordinary Flashes, from whence proceed	273
Moderation required in Marriage, limited by the Queen of Arragon	286
Modesty a foolish Virtue in an indigent Person	301
and Discretion become Maids	323
Monsters, whether there are such properly	122
	Monsters,

I N D E X.

Monsters, are not so to God	Page 122
Monstrous Child	121
<i>Montaigne's</i> Gesture taken for Pride 34. How he undervalued himself 35. His Dislike of his own Writings 37. His Stile 39. His Language and Person 41, &c. His Constitution 45. His Contentment 46. His Delicacy and Indolence 47. His Aversion to Deliberation 48. His Disgust to Ambition 49. To the Times in which he was born 50. His Abhorrence of Dissimulation and Lying 51. His frank and open Carriage to great Men 53. His Aversion to Obligation and Constraint 54. His bad Memory 55, &c. His Genius and Sight, and his Ignorance of common Things 57. His Opinion of himself 62, &c. and of the Times 65. Why he wrote so much about himself 70. His Brother killed in a Duel 104. His angry Disposition 131. His Patience nevertheless in the Disease he always dreaded 174, &c. His Contempt and Raillery of Physic and of the Faculty 181, &c. His Letter to Madame de <i>Duras</i> 204. Why he preferred present Esteem to that which is posthumous <i>ibid.</i> What Things he valued most 205. His Honesty and Delicacy in point of Negotiations 210, &c. His Behaviour to different Parties 213. Why he shunned public Employment 215. Why, and in what manner he proposed to speak so much of himself 227. Why his own Judgment was the common Guide of his Actions 235. Why he never repented of his Conduct 237. Why he seldom gave or took Advice 238. Why he was little concerned at cross Events 239. Why inattentive to frivolous Conversation 243. Why he was delicate in the Choice of his Acquaintance 245, &c. What Ladies were most to his Taste 250, &c. His Opinion of those who blame the Freedom of his Writings 274. His Apology for it 328. His Library 254. Why he married tho' ill-disposed for it 283. Why he cared to have no Books, when he wrote, more than <i>Plutarch's</i> Works 311. Why he only wrote at home 312. His Discretion and Fidelity in his Amours 250, 330.	
<i>Montdore</i> ranked among the best <i>Latin</i> Poets	68
<i>Moniferrat</i> , <i>Conrade</i> Marquis of, assassinated	121
<i>Montmorency</i> ,	

I N D E X.

<i>Montmorency</i> , Constable of, his Death and Character	Page 68
Moor bathed and purged to clear his Complexion	191
<i>Muley Moluc</i> , King of <i>Fez</i> , when dying, victorious over the <i>Portuguese</i>	86
Multitudes Judgment, why contemned	24
Muses sacrificed unto by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , why the Sport and Pastime of the Mind	29
Connection with <i>Venus</i>	255 278

N.

N AMES dispersed into many Mouths	28
Nature, obstinate, sensible of no Emotion	266
Neutrality in Civil Wars neither honourable nor honest	212
Nobility, what	280, &c.
<i>Noue</i> , M. de la, his Character	69
Number of every Man's Days prescribed	120
Numbers of Men, Cause of Confusion in an Army	154
Nudity's wonderful power	293

O.

O ATH of the Judges of <i>Egypt</i>	217
Oaths of the ancient Philosophers	313
Old Age's Comfort	112
Old Age, what Study suits it best	<i>ib.</i>
Old Men should be present at the Exercises, of Young People, why	270
Old Men's Wisdom	241
<i>Orange</i> , Prince of, his Assassination	120
Orator melted into Tears by the Passion he represents	266
<i>Origen</i> , why he abandoned himself to Idolatry	275, &c.
<i>Ostorius's</i> Suicide	5
Ostracism and Petalism	137
<i>Ottoman</i> Race not to be trusted	53

P.

P AGES brought up in good Families as in a School of Nobles	323
Pain and Pleasure tacked	80
Complaint in the Agony of it to be freely indulged	177
<i>Panætius's</i>	

I N D E X.

<i>Panæti</i> us's Answer to a Youth, who asked him whether it became a wise Man to be in Love	Page 332
Parchment Scrolls tied about the Neck of <i>Pericles</i>	206
Passions, the best way to cure them	263, &c.
Patience, wonderful, of some Peasants in the Civil Wars of <i>France</i>	135
Patients advised to confide in their Physicians	188
recommended to Vows, Miracles, and hot Waters	206
<i>Paulina</i> 's Love to <i>Seneca</i> her Husband	161
<i>Pegu</i> , Kingdom, its Womens Petticoats	293
<i>Peloponnesian</i> War	257
<i>Periander</i> 's extravagant Extent of his conjugal Love	321
<i>Persians</i> honour their Enemies for Virtue	66
Petits Maitres painted to the Life by <i>Seneca</i>	247
<i>Petronius</i> 's Refusal of Life from <i>Scipio</i>	156
<i>Philippides</i> , the wise Answer he made to King <i>Lyfimbuchus</i>	214
<i>Philistus</i> 's Self-murder	86
Philosophy proper for Women, what Kind	248
Philosophy's Childish Opinion concerning Pleasures	214
Physician, should be but one for one sick Person	189
Physicians, whether they do most Good or Harm, and how they excuse their Miscarriages	186, &c.
Pigeons taught to carry Letters	306
<i>Pittacus</i> , the greatest Plague he had in his Life	ib.
Pleasure internal	73
extreme, mixed with Groaning	80
constant and universal, insupportable to Men	82
excusing Sin	234, &c.
excessively lascivious hinders Conception	280
Pleasures, natural, allowed, if moderate	333
<i>Plutarch</i> reproached for Anger, by a Slave of his	126
accused of Ignorance and Falsity, and his Defence	133
universal and copious	311
Poetry commended	37
in Fashion in <i>Montaigne</i> 's Time	68
allowed to Women	248
armed with Love	279
<i>Polemon</i> 's Reformation	67
	<i>Polemon</i> ,

I N D E X.

<i>Polemon</i> , the Philosopher's just Prosecution by his Wife	Page 287
Political States as crazy as the human Body	90
Polity human supported by Vice	209
<i>Pollio's</i> Libel against <i>Plancus</i> , when he was dead	102
Possibility and Impossibility	136
Post-horses first set up by <i>Cyrus</i>	88
Poverty obstinate	173
Praise accompanied with natural Sweetness	25
<i>Praxea</i> , a Roman Lady, why she put herself to Death	71
<i>Praxiteles's</i> Statue of <i>Venus</i> how it captivated a Youth	321
Presumption what it is	33, &c.
divided into two Parts	35
nursing Mother of false Opinions	36
Prince ought to be himself in the Field	84
how he ought to die	83
Princes, the Qualities that are most useful to them	51
should not be Tricksters	52, &c.
should be active and sober	85
Privities of Criminals tied up to stop their Urine	265
Profit public preferred to Justice	223
<i>Prometheus's</i> Deficiency in the Formation of Man- kind	268
Promises, when they may be lawfully broke	220
Prophet, no Man is so in his own Country	223
<i>Protagoras</i> , ingenious Faggot-maker	58
Purges, medicinal	185
<i>Pyrrho</i> his vain Attempt to conform his Life to his Doctrine	114

Q.

Q UINTESENCE, what it is	202
---------------------------------	-----

R.

R AIMOND, Count of <i>Tripoli</i> , assassinated	121
Rashness blamed in a General	153
Reformations external	234
Religious Zeal extravagant and unjust	75
<i>Rene</i> King of <i>Sicily's</i> Picture	59
Renown, present, to be preferred to that after Death	204
Repentance	

I N D E X.

Repentance following the Sin	Page 230
what it is	226
commonly corrupt	234
of Stoicks	236
is not concerned in things that are not in	
our Power	236, &c.
true, what is	236
hateful which Old Age brings	239
from whence produced	239
Reputation accidental	21
set at too high a Price	25
Resemblance of Children with their Parents	174
Resolution, sudden, produced extraordinary Actions	115
Retirement the good Use of it	248
Revenge when of no Effect	101
sweet Passion, and of great Impression	262
taken on a Woman in lying with her	322
Rigour of Mistresses irksome, but their Facility more	
so	12
Ring, <i>Platonick</i>	26
<i>Roman</i> Grandeur	94
Senate's Violation of a Treaty of its own	
making	222
<i>Romans</i> , why they went to War	90
why they restored the Kingdoms they con-	
quered	95
whether preferable to the <i>Greeks</i>	137
<i>Ronsard</i> , the <i>French</i> Poet	68

S.

S ALONA Garrison, its Fidelity	156
<i>Sallust</i>	41
Salutations and Congees humble and courteous	34
<i>Sarmatian</i> Ladies when allowed to lie with a Man	323
<i>Scæva</i> , the many Strokes he received upon his Buck-	
ler, in sustaining an Attack	156
Schools interdicted to the Christians	76
Sciences treat of Things too finely	311
<i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> , the first Man among the <i>Romans</i>	173
Scriblers <i>French</i>	310, &c.
<i>Scythian</i> Women made use of their Slaves, having	
first put out their Eyes	300
Seasons	

I N D E X.

Seasons for all Things	Page 110
<i>Sechel, George</i> , his Punishment	110
Seconds in Duels	102
Secrets of Princes troublesome Burthens	214
Sects divided, one for the Body, and the other for the Soul	42
Seed, bearing the Impressions of the Parents	179 &c.
<i>Sejanus's</i> Daughter ravished by her Executioner	220
<i>Seneca</i> defended	131, &c.
compared with the Cardinal of <i>Lorrain</i>	132
and <i>Paulina</i> his Wife, their Loves and Deaths	161, &c.
Sense the justest Dividend of Nature's Favours	63
Servants hanged for betraying their Master	219
Sick at <i>Babylon</i> brought out of Doors for the public Advice	202
Sickness not to be counterfeited	96
Sight lost by one in Sleep	97
Sins impetuous and sudden	236
of Complexion and Profession	ib.
Slave thrown from the <i>Tarpeian</i> Rock for his Treason	219
Sloth censured	83
Society, it is best to avoid its common Offices	146
<i>Socrates's</i> Death	6
Opinion of Death	259
Knowledge, superior to <i>Alexander</i>	232
Behaviour at his Condemnation	241, &c.
Oath	313
Soldiers first taught to handle their Arms with Skill	106
mercenary	156
Solitude, what is	248, &c.
local,	ib.
<i>Solon</i> allowed Women to prostitute themselves	304
Souls the most ignorant have some shining Faculty	57
fit for the Management of Affairs	82
by which Men ought to be judged	233
in Old Age subject to more troublesome Ma- ladies than Youth	241
<i>Spanish</i> Peasant's Fortitude	135
Speech, Liberty of it	54, &c.
<i>Spurina</i> , his Story	139
<i>Stoicks</i> Precepts as to Repentance	236
Stone	

I N D E X.

Stone the most painful of all Diseases discharged by one dreaming he was lying with a Wench	Page 176 178
Study fit for an old Man	112
Suicides Fortitude, how to be judged	3
Sun, mourning for the Death of <i>Cæsar</i>	<i>ib.</i>
Swallows Letter-Carriers	89
Swimming of great Use in War	155
<i>Sylvanus's</i> Suicide	5

T.

T <i>ACITUS</i> the Historian abolished <i>Tarpeian</i> Rock, a Slave thrown from it for Treason	75 219
Taste of nothing that is pure	80
Temperance ought to be beloved for its own sake	241
<i>Thales</i> wrongfully censured for advising Perjury	275
<i>Thalestris</i> came to <i>Alexander</i> to lie with him	324
Thief grown rich, and makes Satisfaction	235
Thievery odious to the <i>Spartans</i> practised by the <i>Egyptians</i>	134 <i>ib. &c.</i>
<i>Thrafonides</i> , a <i>Grecian</i> Youth, why he refused to enjoy his Mistress	320
Thumb's <i>Latin</i> Etymology	98
Thumbs screwed, &c. shewed Favour or Disgust	<i>ib.</i> 99
cutting off, why Persons punished for	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Tiberius</i> another Man without than within his Detestation of Treachery	52 208
<i>Tiberius's</i> Amours	252
Time, the Physician of our Passions	265
<i>Timoleon</i> deputed to cleanse <i>Sicily</i> of Tyrants	222
Torment practised by the Emperor <i>Mechmed</i>	110
Torture of a <i>Spanish</i> Peasant	135
Tragedy Writers must have Recourse to History	164
Traitors abhorred and punished even by those that have employed them	219
Treachery rejected by <i>Tiberius</i> useful preferred to Honesty	208 216
wherein it ought only to be excused	218
punished by the <i>Romans</i>	219

I N D E X.

Treachery revenged upon those that were employed about it	Page 219
Truth, banished, the first Cause of the Corruption of Manners	73
the fundamental Part of Virtue	125, &c.
is one, and simple in her Ways	215
<i>Turkish</i> Madmen proud to debase their own Nature	317
<i>Turks</i> Valour, its Basis	120
<i>Turnebus's</i> Character	68
Tyrants make their Anger felt by lingering Deaths	109

U. V.

V ALOUR ought to be desired for itself, not for a Shew	20
Valour popular, by Civil Wars in <i>France</i>	69
of <i>Cæsar's</i> Soldiers	151, &c.
military, recommended by the Laws of <i>Plato</i> , to the special Favour of the Ladies	337
Vanity, Nursing-Mother of false Opinions	36
<i>Venus</i> accompanies <i>Bacchus</i>	143
why made a Goddess	251
not so beautiful stark naked as she is painted by <i>Virgil</i>	279
what is	314
<i>Venus's</i> Statue by <i>Praxiteles</i> how it captivated a Youth	321
<i>Vespasian</i> Emperor, his Behaviour on his Death-Bed	83
Vices necessary in all Governments	209
Vice leaves Repentance in the Soul	228
Vices condemned by Reason and Nature	230
Victory not complete without the Sovereign	84
obtained by Counsel better than obtained by Force	151
<i>Virgil</i> , with what Colourings he paints <i>Vulcan's</i> Enjoyment of <i>Venus</i>	279
Virginity the Vow of it the hardest to be kept	294
lost without Prostitution	302
Virgins could not be put to Death at <i>Rome</i>	220
Virtue ought to be coveted for herself	21, &c.
military	111
full and equal	113
Virtue	

I N D E X.

Virtue rejoices good Nature	Page 229
is pleasant and gay	273
Virtuous Actions rewardable by their own Merit	23
Understandings, common, the best for Business	82
Vow of some Sparks rash and ridiculous	97
Utility, public, too dearly purchased	221
private, not to be preferred before Faith given	223

W.

W ALACHIANS, the Grand Seignior's Couriers	89
Warriors, the greatest in <i>Montaigne's</i> Time	68
Wars abroad more supportable than Civil ones	91
Whores kept in Temples for the Use of those that came to their Devotion	290
Wife's vehement Love of her Husband	159
Wife complaining of her Husband's too frequent Ad-dresses	286
the Danger of restraining her	306
Will and Desire are Laws to themselves	214
Wills more obstinate for being opposed	10
Wine prescribed for the sick <i>Spartans</i>	201
Wisdom which <i>Montaigne</i> liked	273
<i>Witholde</i> , a <i>Lithuanian</i> Prince, his Order that every Criminal condemned to die should execute him-self	220
Wives that shew most Love to their Husbands when they have lost them	157
Woman abused by her Husband drowned herself	115
each thinks herself preferable before another	291
Woman's Refusal increases Man's Love	295, &c.
Women of Virtue and Honour	157
killing themselves at their Husbands Decease	115, 116
buried alive with their Husbands	ib.
obstinate and furious	121, 136
that never shew their Love to their Husbands till they are dead	157
the severe Laws imposed on them by the Men without their Consent	285, &c.
whether they are the better for it	294, &c.
	Women

I N D E X.

Women what ought to encourage them to be chaste	Page 295
Women's Mourning, what	256
Women are more learned than Men in Love's Business	289
whether they need be learned in the Languages	247
what sort of Learning is fittest for 'em	248
Womens tormenting hateful Jealousy	299 and 306
Women whence comes it that Men usurp Authority over them	329
of the Kingdom of <i>Pegu</i> covered below the Waste with a Cloth slit before	293
prostituted by their Husbands for Lucre	303
prostituting themselves for an Elephant	ib.
having Liberty by the Laws to provide for the Necessities of Life at the Expence of their Chastity	304
young and beautiful kept three Days after their Death, before they were delivered to the Undertaker	321
fine in <i>Italy</i>	322
kept very close in <i>Italy</i>	ib.
changing the Title of beautiful to that of good	337
World in a perpetual Motion	226
Wrestling condemned by <i>Philopæmen</i> , why	116
Writings of the great Poets of former Times	39
long or short, give no Merit to them	41

Z.

Z EAL falsely named	213
armed against <i>Pagan</i> Books	75
<i>Zeno</i> his Oath	314
never had to do with a Woman but once in his Life	316



End of the THIRD VOLUME.

